THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

VOL. XXXIII, No. 1 Fall 1992

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Problems and Patterns of the Southeast European Ethno- and Glottogenesis (ca. 6500 BC – AD 1500)

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By interpreting anthropological, archeological-historical, and linguistic material, the author points out some of the most significant forces, patterns and directions involved in the Aegeo-Balkan-Carpathian genesis. The chronological frame has, as its boundaries, ca. 6500 BC (Neolithic beginnings, already establishing demographic features specific to Southeast Europe) and AD 1500 (representing the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire, as the last major impact on the Balkan ethnolinguistic system). The paper proposes a balance between 'migrationism' and 'immobilism', showing evidence for both externally induced change and autochthonous continuity in the area under discussion. Among other things, the analysis sustains both the Gimbutas-Martinet-Mallory vision of Indo-Europeanization as well as Pisani's confluence-model and some earlier views on SE European substrates.

The construction of models is necessary for the rational understanding of complex phenomena; and, in order to obtain functional models, we have to utilize simplifications. To simplify too much is, however, dangerous. For instance, classical *Indogermanistik* (especially in its reconstructive aspect) envisaged the IE genesis mainly as linear growth and smooth branching of a single ethnolinguistic unit. In that spirit, theories about non-IE substrate and adstrate factors have been regarded with suspicion, or openly rejected (although this skepticism may decline now that Germanic is being shown to contain as many substrate elements as Greek. The flaws of the Schleicherian tree-model (still in use, however discreetly) were observed quite early, and consequently the wave-model was for a time considered as a better replacement. But the latter insisted too much on the mere spreading of linguistic innovation, while neglecting demographic-anthropological facts (i.e. speakers). More recently, structuralism has produced an over-emphasis on synchronic functionality and self-induced change in linguistics, and – in archeology – a reaction against IE migrationism and diffusionism. A notable result is the (sometimes strangely anti-historical) immobilist-autochthonist vision of one contemporary school of

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archeology (cf. Whittle 1985, Renfrew 1987). Nevertheless, in recent historical linguistics and language-change studies there have been authoritative calls for a balanced approach which would observe both internally-regulated 'drift' and contact-induced deviation (which could be even typological – cf. Lehmann 1992: 41).

What I attempt here is a briefly formulated balance between migrationist and autochthonist views.[1] I basically consider that there is evidence of both change-producing external impacts, and autochthonous continuity in prehistory, as well as in historical times. It is obvious that archeological evidence of cultural continuity does not automatically imply the same for language, just as not every archeological disruption (i.e. destruction followed by signs of a new kind of culture) should have produced radical ethnolinguistic alterations. As for Southeast Europe, I believe that we can profitably interpret the materials and conclusions of a number of archeological-historical, ethnographic, and linguistic works (see bibliography), in order to reveal the fundamentally important factors, directions, turning points, and patterns of the Aegeo-Balkan-Carpathian phenomenon. The seemingly 'extremistic' (but not arbitrary) boundaries of my chronological frame are: ca. 6500 BC (i.e. beginnings of Balkan Neolithic, already shaping demographic-anthropological features specific to Southeast Europe) and AD 1500 (i.e. a climax in the establishment of the Ottoman Turkish Empire as the latest major influence of ethnolinguistic importance in the Balkans).

What fundamentally happened between those two dates? The following much simplified chronological arrangement of archeological-historical facts may provide some general answer:[2]

(A) ca. 6500-5500 BC: Çatal-Hüyük – Anatolia (farming & stock raising, lead-smelting, bull-symbolism, Vulture-goddess shrine);

(B) ca. 6000-5000 BC: Early Neolithic of Levantine-Anatolian origin spreading into the Balkan Peninsula through Thessalia (imported farming, painted pottery, Great-goddess worship);

(C) ca. 5000-4500 BC: Vinča-Karanovo-Turdaş developments

[1] This paper is a much extended version of my presentation at the 4th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Los Angeles, May 1992). In their pre-conference letter of acceptance, the UCLA organizers asked a quite justified question: was I sure I could cover such a subject in the allotted half-hour? I thought I could, since my main intention was, and still is, abstractive, rather than descriptive.

[2] Many of the approximate prehistoric dates represent compromises between various authors' opinions.

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(farming & stock-raising, copper mining & smelting, incised and black-burnished pottery, bird-cult, 'proto-script', fortified settlements);

(D) ca. 4500 BC: the Varna cemetery (gold ornaments, symbols of tribal authority, cenotaphs);

(E) ca. 4500-3000 BC: Circum-Mediterranean Neolithic; Karanovo-Gumelnita and Cucuteni-Tripolje developments in SE Europe (large settlements, painted pottery, shrines & shrine-models);

(F) ca. 4500-4000 BC: horse domestication in the Eurasian steppe (the Green Corridor);

(G) ca. 4400-3500 BC: a first stage in the gradual 'dissolution of Old Europe' under early 'Kurganic' blows; similar steppic intrusions in the Caucasian area;

(H) ca. 3500-2900 BC: visible effects of Kurgan Wave II in SE Europe (Usatovo-Gorodsk-Folteşti, Ezero-Coţofeni-Baden); beginning of Early Bronze and the gradual formation of a Circum-Pontic metal-work province; yoke and oxen-pulled plough; hill-forts; bird-shaped vases, stone scepters, single-inhumation in ochre-graves and kurgans;

(I) ca. 3400-3200 BC: Globular-Amphora development north of the Carpathians (shown to have been anthropologically Proto-Europoid, attenuated and brachycephalized);

(J) ca. 3000-2500 BC: Jamna (Kurgan Wave III) impact on the Baden-Vučedol complex; important demographic shifts and re-settlements (a probable IE 'secondary homeland' in Central Europe);

(K) ca. 2000-1600 BC: IE proto-Hittites in Anatolia; IE proto-Mycenaeans in Greece; Egypt invaded by the Hyksos (whose military success, like that of the proto-Mycenaeans, was based on horse-drawn chariots);

(L) ca. 1500-1300 BC: emergence and development of the Urnfield complex in Central Europe; Old Hittite Kingdom in Anatolia; Mycenaeans in Greece;

(M) ca. 1250-1150: Sea-People migrations and attacks in the East Mediterranean world, apparently in connection with major disturbances in Central Europe (evidence of attacks by Scythoid mounted archers against Lusatian fortifications in Western Poland); Philistines (with early iron age technology) in Israel; in the Aegean world, the Trojan War is soon followed by the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, and by the 'Dark Age' of pre-Ancient Greece;

(N) ca. 1000-700 BC: spreading of iron technology, and (most probably) ethno-linguistic restructuring in Europe; proto-historical

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formation of Balkan peoples (later attested as Macedonians, Thracians, Dacians, Illyrians);

(O) ca. 1000-800 BC: Phoenicians in the Mediterranean;

(P) 7th c. BC: Cimmerians (under Scythian pressure) penetrate Asia Minor and Thrace (evidence of refugees in Greece and Italy);

(R) 7th-4th cs. BC: development of Ancient Greek civilization and colonization;

(S) 6th-5th cs. BC: Persian control of Asia Minor, and intrusions into SE Europe;

(T) 4th-3rd cs. BC: Macedonian expansion, followed by Hellenistic civilization (with no lasting ethnolinguistic effects);

(U) 3rd c. BC: Celtic attacks on Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece;

(V) 2nd c. BC-3rd c. OT: Roman conquest and 'pacification' in the Balkans;

(W) 4th-8th cs.: (Eastern) 'Romans' vs. 'Barbarians', from un-Romanized Carpo-Dacians, to Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars; Constantinople as prestige-and-authority center; Christianity firmly established in the Balkans; Balkan-Latin gradually becomes East Romanic (i.e. Dalmatian and Vlaho-Romanian);

(X) 9th-10th cs.: a late steppic impact of ethnolinguistic significance – Hungarians.

(Y) 13th c.: Mongolian invasion of Eastern Europe (the origin of today's SE European Tatars);

(Z) 14th-15th cs.: establishment of the Ottoman Turkish Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans; many Albanian and South Slavic natives converted to Islam, though preserving their original language and most of their pre-Islamic traditions.

This is a practical, selective list of thresholds and developments; an archeologist may think in terms of 'periods of cultural coherence' interrupted by 'horizons of destruction'. History has always been based on an interplay of continuity and discontinuity, transience and persistence. And, in many cases, that interplay appears as a destructive/constructive tension between the (apparently passive, but very effective) *Absorptive Action* of a subdued majority and the power-producing *Difference* (be it a new weapon, or stricter discipline, or the horse, or the chariot) of an intruding minority, soon turning into a new social élite. A major general conclusion to be drawn (however indirectly) after a thorough reading of such tables (with a map at hand) could be: *basic patterns of history are dictated by geography*.

To begin with, not only certain Near East crises of the 7th millenni-

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um BC (cf. Rollefson/Simmons 1987), but also the very structure of the Levantine-Aegean sea-currents (cf. Nikolov 1987) were among the circumstances which favored the Neolithic transfer to the Balkans. In later times, it was in geographically protected areas (like the Mediterranean islands, or the Carpathians, the Alps, and the Pyrenees) where elements of pre-IE Old Europe could survive long after most of the more accessible parts of the continent had become IE (mainly by "Kurganization"). As for the movement of peoples and of cultures, the Danube evidently offered the earliest accessible way to Central Europe. That river was used both by Balkan Neolithic step-by-step colonization ("swarming"), and by the earliest steppic penetrations, which probably produced the archaeologically manifest Copper Age horizon of destruction in the Balkans. During the same Early Metal period, the North Carpathian & North Alpine prolongation of the Eurasian *Green Corridor* gradually turned into a stage for the much discussed major waves of steppic horsemen (whose particular ways of modifying the ethnolinguistic configuration of Europe are still to be determined). Not only the growing aggressiveness of warlike steppic horse-tamers, or the overpopulation in North-Pontic regions, but also the removal of a natural barrier, namely forests, should be considered as causes of the Green-Corridor expansion. (Of the original East Central European flatland forests only a patch survives in today's Poland.) In my opinion, it was *deforestation* which opened the way for early Scythoids to Central Western Europe (since, geographically again, the Green Corridor reaches the North Sea in the end). Deforestation, which started by the slash-and-burn of Neolithic farming, must have become radical with emerging metallurgy (which needed charcoal). Also, much wood was consumed by the funeral practice of cremation.[3] To conclude, if we consider both prehistory and historical events, we can make the following general observation: from the Scythoid attackers of Urnfield-Lusatian fortifications, to the Hungarians (who stayed) and the Mongolians (who returned to more familiar steppes) the North-Carpathian segment of the Green Corridor was found open and hardly defensible.

The Green Corridor development is of capital importance not only

[3] There is sporadic Neolithic evidence for the European beginnings of cremation. That practice reached a peak during the Advanced Bronze Urnfield period of East Central Europe; and historical perpetuations of it were specific to pre-Christian Dacian, Germanic, and Slavic tribes.

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for the Gimbutas-Martinet-Mallory vision of Indo-Europeanization, but also for a constructive reconsideration of the older idea (originally Trubetskoy's) of an IE continuum. I consider that such a continuum could be created only by successive reinforcement (in keeping with Gimbutas' Kurganic Waves), doubled by what I may call IE mutual recognition: even if earlier IE-speaking intruders were assimilated by non-IE Old Europeans, repeated steppic penetrations could gradually create a network of IE linguistic and socio-cultural elements. In the end, steppic newcomers (who had the 'appropriate gear' to become social élites in various regions) could encounter groups recognizable as 'ours' in all corners of Europe, and we should not forget that a steppic pastoralist mobility must have been a general factor in Indo-European unification. But for a special focus on Southeast Europe, I must observe that there is a geo-historical element to which insufficient attention has been paid (partly because it is harder to detect archaeologically): that is the contribution of Caucaso-Anatolian mountain pastoralism which seems to have been as important in the Balkans as part of the steppic flow through the Lower Danube gate. History proves that besides the above mentioned flat-land pattern seasonal migration (mountain-sea, or mountain-plain) of sheepherding populations played a major role in the cultural-linguistic unity of the Balkan peninsula (and the Italic one witnessed a similar process).

The just mentioned Caucaso-Anatolian factor has to be seriously taken into account, because Middle and Near East sheep-and-goat-herds (of Mesolithic roots) seem to have started moving into certain parts of Europe earlier than crop cultivation. And, whether or not as a cause-effect phenomenon, the decay and abandonment of certain Early-Neolithic sites of the Levant (cf. Rollefson/Simmons 1987) was clearly followed by the appearance (ca. 6200 BC) of an entirely new, nomadic-pastoralist culture, introduced by a new population. As regards Southeast Europe, there appears to exist a connection between early mountain pastoralists and early mining and metallurgy. For the IE domain as a whole, one thing is clear (not only because there hardly are any metal-names of doubtless PIE origin, but also for mere geologic-geographic reasons): though certain IE tribes may have become familiar with it very early, metallurgy could not possibly begin in the Eurasian steppes, but only in ore-rich mountains. No wonder that the Caucasus is a capital link in the earliest Circum-Pontic Metallurgic Province (just as the Circum-Mediterranean Neolithic has its hinge in the Levantine sector of the Fertile Crescent). As for

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particular aspects of the Caucasian connection, Ivănescu 1968 discusses Albanian evidence of 'Japhetic' features (metallurgic technology and terminology, signs of an eagle-cult, etc.); and, in his presentation of a South-Slavic ethnographic background, Kulišić 1966 (see especially pp. XVII-XIX) points out 'Caucasian-Balkan features' manifest in 'the Dinaric regions'.[4]

Though considered by some as an independent ('internal') development, the 5th millennium Copper Age beginnings in the Balkans, with the early mines of Ai Bunar (Bulgaria) and Rudna Glava (Serbia), coincide with the early phases of the long-lasting Vinća complex (much of which grew, through the Baden culture, into Early Bronze). I consider that it is hard to sustain the idea that the development under discussion – showing, besides copper metallurgy, new types of settlements and shrines, as well as incised and black-burnished pottery different from the one of the earlier Balkan Neolithic – did not imply newcomers in the region. We cannot overlook the fact that copper smelting obviously started earlier in the Middle and Near East; early Oriental metallurgy could have spread (not by abstract diffusion, but through real people, however unnumerous at first) to the ore-rich Rodopi mountains, then to the Dinaric Alps, and finally to the Transylvanian-Slovakian Carpathians. We should also not forget that in the area once covered by the Vinča complex the now dominant physical type (though in different versions, due to mixture) is *neither* Proto-Europoid (like those of prehistoric Scythoids), nor Mediterranean, but Dinaric (Armenoid). An archaic (Hattic) version of the latter can be seen in Hittite profiles most accurately represented by ancient Egyptian artists. The same type, which I am inclined to call Armeno-Hatto-Dinaric, is now specific to the most traditional-conservative regions of both Albania and Romania. Here is a graphic description of Armeno-Hatto-Dinaric features, in their Albanian representation: "The

[4] Kulišić's concise but very rich introduction to his ethnographic album also contains valuable comments on more recent developments in the Balkan-Adriatic area. For instance: 'The old Slav tradition brought by the Yugoslav tribes from their homeland beyond the Carpathians assimilated the cultural heritage passed on by the earlier inhabitants of present-day Yugoslav territory' (p. v); 'the custom of tattooing practiced by some Bosnian Croats owes its origin to the old Thrace-Illyrian inhabitants' (p. xvii); 'it has been established that the polyphonic musical forms of the herdsmen in the Bosnian mountains have not been found among any other Slav peoples, nor indeed among any other European nation; it has therefore been concluded that they represent the musical tradition of Slavicised Vlachs'(p. xx) – here I must observe that the best preserved tradition of polyphonic music is to be found in the Caucasus (especially in Georgia).

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men are of a marked type – very long necked, often very weak-chinned, with a beaky nose that gives an odd, goose-like effect" (Durham 1985: 138). According to the same observer, Albania – a country with strict rules of inter-clan marriage – also contains a (seemingly older) "small, dark type," characterized by "round head, face short and rather wide across the cheekbones, brown hair and eyes, varying in darkness to almost black; eyebrows level, often nearly or quite meeting over the nose, which is usually short and straight, maybe slightly aquiline" (Durham 1985: 164). I can add that the latter type is also clearly attested by many Bulgarians, and Southwest Romanians (Oltenians).

In the light of the comments and examples above – and better specialists in physical anthropology should have more significant things to say about them –, earlier views on the contact between Indo-European ethno-factors (dominantly Proto-Europoid, at least originally) and pre-Kurganic substrates should be resumed and enriched. I strongly recommend attentive re-readings of important works that are too little known, such as Ivanescu 1957, Hubschmid 1960, and Lahovary 1963. Those works contain many plausible arguments in favor of a Hamito-Mediterranean & Caucaso-Japhetic basis of Old Europe. And, by going along the lines suggested by the above-mentioned authors, we may also clarify (among other things) the Armeno- Hatto-Dinaric dominance in Aegeo-Balkan-Carpathian areas.That substratic anthropologic dominance, I may add, does not exclude the possibility of an intermittent flow of Indo-European elements through the South-Pontic area, in both directions, beginning with ca. 4000 BC (a moment of proved steppic presence in both South-Caucasian and Lower-Danubian regions). The same geo-historical pattern can be taken into account in the case of later populations, such as the Hittite-Luwian, the Phrygian, or the Armenian.

After these brief incursions into geo-history, I can assert that the anthropological, cultural, and linguistic essence of the Aegeo-Balkan-Carpathian world has been defined by a general model which I visualize as the "Circum-Pontic tongs." The two arms of the tongs appear as: in the north, the Green Corridor (with its secondary southern turn into the opening of the Lower Danube); in the south, the Levanto-Anatolian-Aegean vector, including both the well-known East-West Neolithic expansion, and the less known (and harder-to-detect) contribution of Caucaso-Anatolian pastoralists,[5] who must have

[5] More concretely, at least part of a slow east-west people-motion along the South Pontic

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been the earliest miners and smiths of the area under discussion. It was most probably the latter (or their already 'mixed' heirs) who founded a new metallurgic province in the Balkans, then crossed the Danubian path and followed the Carpathians into Central Europe (a process which took millennia, and implied many ethnic mixtures and of acculturations). The basic joint of the above-mentioned tongs has always been in the Romanian Carpathians (Transylvania standing for the first natural fortress in front of the North-Pontic steppes). Significantly, the final (?) historical impacts of ethnolinguistic consequence for Southeast Europe, the Hungarians and the Turks, were both of steppic extraction; but the former followed the North Pontic well-beaten track, while the latter invaded the Balkans after a South Caspian and South Caucasian shift from Central Asia, and after crossing South Pontic provinces of the dying Byzantine Empire. Among other things, the spectacular Turkic expansion, and its linguistic success in Anatolia and in other regions, reflects a model which may also tell us a lot about the similar Indo-European process in prehistoric times. But we should keep in mind that a huge amount of today's Turkish-speaking Anatolians are heirs of Central Asian Turkic horsemen only linguistically, not bio-anthropologically and culturally (though the Turks played such an important part in the introduction of a new religious ideology into the region, namely Islam). Moreover, even at the linguistic level, Turkish contains a lot of non-Turkic elements, just as today's Hungarian shows many relics from the Carpatho-Pannonian pre-Magyar idioms.[6]

The big problem with prehistory is that archeology may reveal important things about changes in population and culture but can hardly establish which of those changes had linguistic consequences. By reference to an already mentioned historical model, I may ask: could archeology, by itself (i.e. without written history, and without knowl-

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axis must have made use of the mountainous strip immediately south of the Black Sea (in today's Turkey); that region is now inhabited in part by the so-called 'Pontic Greek' shepherds. We cannot avoid the fact that, for a representative of the latter population, 'real' Greeks will pejoratively use the name of Λαζός; and *Laz* is one of the best-known Caucasian ethnonyms.

[6] An addition to this point: even though Fodor 1975: 284 evaluates the indigenous population was 'at less than half' in comparison with the number of the Hungarian conquerors, (which is very hard to believe), on p. 288 of the same work we are told that 'at the time of the Conquest and later we know of numerous ethnic groups 'Who became Hungarian by reason, Command, fate, intent, opportunity" (the quotation being from a poem by Ady Endre).

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edge of historical continuations) tell us that the coming of the Hungarians to Pannonia (unlike the coming of Normans to England) led to the successful imposition of an entirely new language in that area? I think it could not. To take another case, the abundant Romano-British finds could, by themselves, suggest a victory of Latin in Britain; but historical reality tells us that, while a Romanic language was being shaped in the less spectacularly Romanized Dacia, different circumstances did not allow a comparable development on British soil. Therefore, for all archaeologic evidence, it would be extremely difficult for us to say whether, for instance, the novelties of the 5th millennium Varna cemetery (showing a refined metallurgy, and a new kind of social hierarchy on the Balkan-Pontic coast) actually represented the sociopolitical and linguistic success of a new ethnic group in the region. Similarly, it is as difficult to establish which of the archaeologically evident Kurgan intruders were totally assimilated by Old Europeans, and which managed to impose both their patriarchal social system and their language. I can only presume that raids and invasions of a male-only type (which could sometimes be archaeologically proved as such) may have ended in assimilation after one or two generations, while total (i.e. family-wise) migrations – like those of Scythians, or of Hungarians – have more chances of linguistic survival.[7]

Although we must constantly observe socio-historical and quantitative (as, for instance, between the Trojan War and the Turkish siege of Constantinople), common mechanisms detected in various historical patterns may prove very useful for a better understanding of pre- and proto-history. For example, there is an obvious contrast between the Bulgarian (or, better, Bulgar) and the Hungarian phenomena: the former implied a temporary domination of South Danubian Slavic territories by a Turkic élite, soon assimilated by the Slavic majority (though the name of *Bulgaria* has survived to this day); the latter, as already mentioned, meant a lasting ethnolinguistic success for the newcomers. From a more general viewpoint, the Bulgarian model shows the same characteristics as the Viking Danish model. At the beginning of the 10th century, intrusive Danes (Normans) became a dominant élite in the territory that was to be called (after them)

[7] For another example: the Goths managed to preserve their Germanic identity in Eastern Europe, even under intense pressures (very different in kind) from the demographic mass of Carpatho-Pontic aborigines, from Byzantium, and from the Huns. It was only Western Romanic absorption which eventually 'removed' the Goths from history.

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Normandy; but they were readily absorbed by the Gallo-Roman natives. When (after only one century and a half) William of Normandy conquered England, he and his followers spoke French and their ethnic character was no longer Danish. If we go further back into proto-history, we can trace a pattern of assimilation (and 'disappearance') in the fortune of the Philistines. Though the latter are known to have been a dominant factor in early Iron Age Israel, the only remarkable survival from them is the name of *Palestine*. Could we ever determine how many nameless Philistine-like groups crossed pre-literate Southeast Europe without leaving coherently interpretable traces, and how many settled there, Hungarian-wise?

In an earlier work (Poruciuc 1989) I tried a combination between the *Wörter und Sachen* method and the distinctive-feature theory (borrowed from modern phonology). I argued there that any archaeologically and/or historically known implement may be regarded as a unit characterized by several distinctive features (such as 'material', 'shape', 'function', and 'name'); and that, in the passage from one historical stage to another, one of those features may be altered, while the others remain unchanged. I now think that the same model is flexible enough to be applied to ethno- and glottogenetic processes. Any historical ethnic unit (basically implying a community attached to one and the same idea of ethnic identity) has fundamental features like: (a) demographic-anthropologic structure; (b) traditional culture (commonly comprising multiple-source elements coherently [often 'folk-etymologically'] fused); (c) ideology (which, especially in recent times, may show a contrast between folk beliefs and literate-official, or activist-nationalist views); (d) religion (a very important factor for ethnic unity in prehistoric and early historical times); (e) territory (which, to the extent this was related to differences in subsistence-systems, was much 'easier' to change in earlier times than in recent history); (f) language (a number-one factor of national awareness and unity; as a rule, language-shift also implies a change in ethnic identity). I give these features in an order depending on their degrees of changeability: in that respect anthropological and cultural features are hardest to change, while, surprisingly, language has often proved to be the easiest. More precisely, however, language as a distinctive feature has its own sub-features, which may be easier or harder to modify. If, at the anthropological level, blood types and skeletal features are highly tenacious (and can be radically modified in an area only by displacement or replacement of population), probably next in tenacity

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to these genetic qualities are articulatory habits, which are already language. Onomastic elements are also language, and they obviously are more persistent than common words, and even than morphology. Provided there is a sufficient amount of demographic continuity, proper-names (both toponyms and anthroponyms) may survive through several linguistic shifts, and many times they remain as the only documents about the linguistic past of one or another area.

That the above-presented features may often manifest themselves as factors of conflict rather than of harmony is demonstrated by Edith Durham's keen observations, based on her first-hand experience of a grim Balkan environment at the beginning of this century (quotations from Durham 1985):

> [p. 4] The inrushing Slav appears not so much to have displaced the native population of old Illyria as to have absorbed it. There is no record of when the native Illyrian tongue died out in Bosnia, nor to what extent it had been replaced by a Latin speech by the time the Slavs arrived. In Albania the language never died out, but survives to-day as modern Albanian. And with the language has survived the fierce racial instinct, which to this day makes the Albanian regard the Slav as his first and worst foe. Empires came and went , and passed over the Albanian as does water off a duck's back. In the fastedness, which he held, he was never more than nominally conquered, and retained his marked individuality and customs. [...] To race hatred was added religious hatred. The Slavs, converted to Christianity by missionaries from Salonika in the ninth century, decided eventually for the Eastern Church. The Albanian remained faithful to Rome.
>
> [p. 6] As for the very large population that must have been of mixed Serbo-Illyrian blood, whether they eventually called themselves Serb or Albanian seems to have largely depended upon whether they decided in favor of Rome or the Orthodox Church. There are certain old Roman Catholic communities in Bosnia that have preserved to this day the ancient Illyrian custom of tattooing. This is never practiced by the Orthodox or Moslem Slavs, but is common among both Catholic and Moslem Albanians. It is therefore possible that these tattooed Bosnians, though now Serbophone, descend from pre-Slavonic inhabitants, and have not yet lost the custom of putting on a distinguishing mark.

To repeat, a post-conquest era may imply language replacement, as

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well as firm preservation of a dominant autochthonous race. The articulatory habits of the latter are commonly applied to the language of the conquerors; and autochthonous proper-names continue to be used alongside newly introduced ones. In many cases, a remarkable amount of substrate appelatives may also survive (cf. the Albano-Romanian substrate connection). Theoretically, at this point, I must observe that nowadays linguists pay a lot of attention to language death (which is 'wholly' possible only in cases of total extermination); but language birth and substrate perpetuation after glottogenetic thresholds deserve at least as much attention. The complicated relationship between ethnogenesis (with its strange and obscure shifts of national identity) and glottogenesis deserves more study, because, for many scholars, the two phenomena are undesirably indistinguishable from each other. In that respect, I will make use of an example better known to the English-speaking world: Cornish Welsh. That idiom, extinct after a millennium of Anglo-Saxon linguistic-administrative pressure, is often mentioned among instances of language death. As in the case of (East Romanic) Dalmatian, we may learn about the last speaker, the last direct information, and the total replacement of (Celtic) Cornish by English. It sounds like a dirge. Yet we should observe that it was, practically, only a matter of *Sprachdämmerung*, not also of *Volkdämmerung* (as in cases of thoroughly erased North American or Amazonian tribes). Among other things, in America I discovered that even heirs of Cornish miners long established in Illinois and Wisconsin still show signs of Celtic tradition and ideology. And, from a more linguistic point of view, today's colloquial Cornish (like the Wenglish of Wales, and the Hiberno-English of Ireland) can be said to be basically English in vocabulary and grammar, but it has an articulatory system inherited from Celts, rather than from Anglo-Saxons.

To return to 'my' world: I consider that the well-known Pelasgian fragment of Herodotus, I, 57-58 (here in A.D. Godley's translation) is of extreme importance for a clear understanding of the Palaeo-Balkan genesis. And, when reading the following, we should observe especially the elements which Herodotus presents as contemporary observations, not as dim facts from the past:

> [57] What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni in the city of Creston – who were once neighbors of the people now called Dorians, and at that time

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> inhabited the country which now is called Thessaly – and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name: – if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbors; and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell. [58] But the Hellenic stock, as to me seems clear, has ever used the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, but few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many foreign peoples united themselves with them.

I chose to quote this fragment as a whole because, unlike other passages in Herodotus, it has more first-hand evidence than historical speculation. I also chose it because it contains, in a concise and convincing form, several concepts of major importance for this discussion. These are:

(a) taking 'a different name';

(b) becoming another 'nation' (ἔθνος), and adopting a new 'language', while keeping the same 'blood';

(c) hard-core (Basque-like) groups of an earlier population continuing to use their original 'fashion of speech';

(d) growing from 'a small beginning' to 'a multitude of nations', by 'unification'.

Though without any specialized terminology, Herodotus' presentation displays an insight at least as keen as Edith Durham's. Both authors, though at so great a distance in time from each other, give us facts that demonstrate how fluid ethno-glotto-political borders can be in certain historical conditions; and the realization of this fact may help us escape the frozen-map illusion of today's world.

With situations like the Helleno-Pelasgian and the Anglo-Cornish ones above, the necessity of a balance between migrationism-intrusionism and autochthonism becomes more visible. And we may also need to reconsider the old (wrongly discredited) mixed-language theory. A

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particular language is not made only of grammatical structure and lexical roots, but also of articulation, stress, intonation, formants, and syntactic patterns. In conformations and proportions depending on particular circumstances, all those elements together act as pools of glotto-factors of diverse origin, tending towards moments of functional coherence (which sometimes are never achieved, since languages may also die before being born). Such a growth-pattern is structurally similar to that of archeological cultures which, given sufficient peace, tend to become fully coherent by fusing elements of diverse origins (cf. the case of Baden, as presented by Sochacki 1985). I think we should give more thought to the confluence-model ('sistema idrico') conceived by Pisani during the 50's (cf. Pisani 1977, referring to Albanian). According to that model, each element of a particular language has its own history; and each particular language, after being shaped as such by confluence of various streams, may, in its turn develop branches that become part of other confluences, and so on.[8]

Actually, everything fundamental we have in Southeast Europe, from folklore to language, is of multiple, mixed, and often extremely old extraction. The second part of this paper is meant to give some more concrete illustrations supporting the main assertions above.

(1) The origin of Gk. *χορός* 'dance, group of dancers, chorus, choir' (Homer. 'dancing ground', and dial. 'village square') is uncertain, and its relationship with Gk. *χώρα* 'space, place of specific usage' is not clear (cf. Neo-Gk. *χορεύω* 'to dance (with)', *χώρα* 'place, country, region', *χωριό* 'village, hamlet', *χωριανός* 'villager, countryman'). But a ring- (or chain-)dance known as *hora* is still danced nowadays in distant places like Israel and Romania, and certain Romanian facts reveal older (non-entertainment) meanings. In Transylvania, *a hori* means 'to sing, to play' (cf. *Horea*, a celebrated Romanian name); and *horă* (or *hoară*, by *a*-umlaut, for which see some of the Microasian and Romanian names given below) designates a ballad, or a type of melancholy song for which other Romanian regions use substratic *doină*. A *Horea secerii* sometimes names the ritual 'sickle-song' (see below), and a *Horea păcurariului* ('The Song of the Shepherd') is an archaic variant of the famous dirge-ballad *Mioriţa*. In Romanian chronicles, as well as more recent texts, *horă* also refers to the central

[8] An anti-Schleicherian and anti-'Proto-Language' attitude comparable with Pisani's is to be found in Devine 1971.

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part of a traditional Romanian church, namely to the part with outward-bulging apses known as 'the bosom of the church' (Rom. *sînurile bisericii* more graphically refer to the twin protuberances on a woman's body). To go deeper: not long ago, Romanian archaeologists (inspired by their own folk tradition, and, as proved below, not so arbitrarily) gave the name of *Hora* to an object discovered at the (fully Old-Europe) Pre-Cucuteni level of Romania's Neolithic. That object appears as a stylized representation of four naked women apparently joined in a ring-dance (arms on shoulders, faces inward, bodies slightly forward-bent). Florescu's comment on it is that 'what we probably have here is a ritual attitude, maybe also an actual dance' (Miclea/Florescu 1980a: 71 – my translation); the Pre-Cucuteni item was tentatively labelled as a 'fruit-bowl stand'.[9] Today, when Romanian villagers of Lapus (a Transylvanian *ţară* 'country') have their yearly "forebears" meal with the village (*masa moşilor cu satul*), they share bread (special double-spiral and wreath-shaped loaves), painted eggs, and brandy (cf. Biltiu 1987). On the same day, people go to the graves of their dead relatives to burn incense and to offer gifts to other villagers. Those ones who receive such gifts at a grave are supposed to join in a circle (hands on shoulders), then to bend forward and touch the grave with their foreheads. In Lapus, a similar ritual ring-dance (of most probable Old European origin) is performed on the ancestor- worship holiday. The term which designates that special holiday is, in all parts of Romania, the plural *moşi* 'forebears', of Palaeo-Balkan extraction: cf. Rom. *moş* 'uncle, old man', *moşneag* 'old man', *moaşă* 'aunt, midwife', *moşie* 'communally inherited land', *a moşteni* 'to inherit', *moşnean* 'free-peasant', a clear correlative of this Romanian family being Alb. *moshë* 'age'. Such Romanian linguistic-ethnographic facts can certainly lead to a better understanding of the initial implications of Gk. χορός. At a Pan-Balkan level, we should first of all correct earlier etymologies based on a superficial vision of historical borrowing. For instance, Rom. *horă* still appears in dictionaries, with no justification, as derived from Bulg. *horo*, when in fact both words, together with their Greek correlative, should be regarded as independent substrate perpetuations.

[9] I remember having seen, in a *Biblical Archaeologist* article (which, unfortunately, I do not have at hand now), a very similar, though more abstract-shaped object, interpreted as 'incense-burner'. That thing belonged to an Iron-Age Philistine temple of Israel; the temple also showed signs of bull & bird symbolism.

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(2) From Fick 1874 to Fraser/Matthews 1987, too many Anatolian-Aegean-Balkan names have been presented as merely Greek, just because the earliest attestations were in Greek letters. (I was surprised to discover well-known Thraco-Dacian toponyms like Μεσημβρία, Σηλυμβρία, or Ζαρμισεγέθουσα included in Dornseiff/Hansen 1978, which is supposed to be a *Reverse-Lexicon of Greek Proper-Names*). Also, too many Mycenaean names have been forced into familiar Greek patterns, and too much of the Balkan *Namenbund* (ancient and modern) has been explained as the result of contact among the historically attested Balkan languages. At least, the formulation used in Dornseiff/Hansen 1978 as a title for Zgusta's index of Microasian names suggests the right approach: 'reverse-index of indigenous names from Asia Minor in their Greek transcriptions'.

It is, of course, difficult for us to say exactly what 'indigenous' means in the area under discussion; also, the already familiar label of 'Palaeo-Balkan' (*drevnebalkanskij*) is maybe too general and vague. But the early Anatolian- Aegean-Balkan onomastic common-core may be on its way toward providing us with an image more accurate than the one inherited from Fick and Bechtel. The two classical listings overemphasized the position of 'Indogermanic' double-member names, from which they derived most mono-members. However, already Fick 1874 contained four pages (91-94) of what the author regarded as 'Kosenamen ohne erhaltene Vollnamen'. And much later, during the 30's, Nilsson (following Kretschmer) pointed out a Greek situation that might look paradoxical from the Fick-Bechtel standpoint, namely the precedence of certain mono-members. Among other things, Nilsson (see 1972: 26-27) showed that legendary dynasty-founders like Ατρεύς, Οδυσσεύς, Τυδεύς (with names of obscure theme and suffixation) clearly preceded the Homeric Αγαμέμνων, Τηλέμαχος, Διομήδες, who bore transparent Indo-European double-member names. It should be added here that there is a quite obvious correspondence between the above-mentioned Microasian 'indigenous' names and the Balkan ones, both ancient and modern. That correspondence is represented, almost exclusively, by mono-members of which many are difficult to interpret as Indo-European. In a recent paper (Poruciuc 1992), I presented a systematic illustration of the Microasian-Balkan onomastic correlation; and since I expect that paper to be published soon, I will give here only a limited number of examples (selected out of tens like them). As an introduction: the most striking fact about the correlation under discussion is that there is evident thematic-phonological-formative

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similarity not only, as normally expected, at an ancient-history level (such as between Microasian, Mycenaean, Thracian, and Illyrian), but also between Microasian and Modern Balkanic (particularly Romanian). In the following examples, we can detect both similar themes (so far diversely interpreted, on the ground of one or another language), and similar suffixes (of types like -AIA, -AS, -EA, -EU, -ILA, -ITA, -OTA, -UTA, etc). Moreover, as a strange example of conservatism due to peripheral position (in both space and time!) a series of Microasian and Romanian corresponding names show similar phonological features, such as an apparent 'indifference' to voice (cf. Microas. Οβρα-/Οπρα- ~ Rom. *Obra/Opra*), or *a*-umlaut (which is still functionally-productive in today's Romanian; cf. masc. *orb* 'blind' - fem. *oarbă*, in which *oa* transcribes */wa/*). For the latter aspect, observe Microas. Ουακα (certainly related to Ουοκες), Ουανια, and Ουανθα, in comparison with Rom. *Oaca* ('fem.' of *Ocu*), *Oană* ('fem.' of *Onu*), and *Oanţă* (cf. 'masc.' *Onţoiu*, with an *-oi* suffix). These and their families are included in the following arrangement of personal names (my basic sources being: Dornseiff/Hansen 1978, Landau 1958, Fick 1874, Bechtel 1917, Fraser/Matthews 1987, Chantraine 1990, Russu 1969, Detschew 1957, Doçi 1983, Iordan 1983). For Modern Balkanic languages family-names only are given; the fact that some languages are better represented than others may reflect limited information, rather than real proportions.

Microasian:
paste in greek

Mycenaean: *A-ne-a, A-ne-o, A-no, A-no-ta, A-nu-ko, A-no-qo-ta, A-nu-ta.*

Greek (mostly of the Aegean islands): Ἄνα, Ἄννα, Ἀνναῖος, Ἀννία, Ἀννιανός, Ἀννίβας, Ἀννικῆς, Ἄννιος, Ἄννων, Ἄνοκνος, Ἀνίτα, Ἀνίτων, Ἀνύσσαν, Ἀνυταία, Ἄνουτος, Ἄνυτος, Ἀνιοκλῆς, Ἀνυσικλῆς.

Illyrian: *Ana, Ancus, Annaea, Annaeus, Annaia, Annea, Anneses, Annia, Annyla.*

Bulgarian: *Anka, Anko, Anitsa.*

Romanian: *Ana* (a family-name commonly presented as 'biblical'), *Ancu,*

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Ancau, Ancota, Ane, Anescu, Anica, Anita, Anus.

Microasian: Οκα, Οκκα, Ουακα, Ουοκεα, Ογολις, Ογωλλις.

Mycenaean: *O-ka, O-ko, O-ku, O-ke-u, O-ka-ri-jo, O-ke-te-u, O-ki-ra, O-ko-me-ne-u.*

Greek: Ὦκύαλος, Ὠκυάλη, Ὠκύθοος, Ὠκυμένης, Ὠκυνεύς, Ὠκυρόη, Ὤκυτος.

Albanian: *Okiq.*

Bulgarian: *Oko, Okjo.*

Romanian: *Ocu, Oca, Oca, Oaca, Ochea, Ocos, Ocut, Oculescu, Ogoiu, Oghisca.*

Microasian: Ονεις, Ονιαλις, Οννες, Ουαναις, Ουαναλις, Ουανωλις, Ουανια, Ουανθα, Ουανγδαμοης.

Mycenaean: *O-na-jo, O-na-se-u, O-ne-u.*

Greek:
Ὀνάϊος, Ὄναῖος, Ὀναμενός, Ὄνᾶς, Ὀνάσανδρος, Ὀνάσας, Ὀνασίας, Ὀνασίλας, Ὀνάσιλος, Ὄνασίμα, Ὀνασιμᾶς, Ὀνάσιμος, Ὀνάσιν, Ὄνασις, Ὀνασιώ, Ὄνασος, Ὀνάσων, Ὀνασώ, Ὀνάτας, Ὀνάτωρ, Ὀνής, Ὄνησα, Ὀνησᾶς, Ὀνησίς, Ὄνησος, Ὀνησώ, Ὀνησιάναξ, Ὀνησιγένης, Ὀνήτης, Ὀνήτωρ, Ὀνίδες, Ὀνίτης, Ὄνυτος.

Illyrian: *Onaion, Oneum, Oeaneum, Onastini.*

Thracian: *Onakarsis, Ones[as]* (the extreme scarcity of Thracian names on this list may not be by chance, and it may prove significant, especially in connection with the Scythoid implications of Thrac. Ῥῆσος – see illustrative example # 8 below).

Bulgarian: *Onko, Onkou.*

Romanian: *Onu* (usually interpreted as derived from 'calendaristic' *Ion* John'), *Oniu, Onea, Oană, Oane, Onaie, Onoaie, Onoiu, Onca, Oncu,*

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Oancea, Oanţă, Onişcu, Onică, Onilă, Onesa, Onisu, Onac, Onaca, Onanţă, Oneagă, Oniga, Oneaţă, Onete, Oneţ, Oneţiu, Onogea, Oniţ, Onuţ.

Microasian: Οβρασις, Οβρολαμος, Οβραγουεις, Οβραμουασις, Οβραουγελις, Οβραουγερις, Οβριμοτες, Ουβρασμουασις, Οπραμος, Οπρασατης, Οπραμοας, Οπραμουσις, Ουπραμουσις.

Mycenaean: *O-pe-ra-no, O-pe-ra-no-𐀍, O-pe-𐀍-ta, O-po-𐀾-me-no, O-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo.*

Greek: Ὄβριμος, Ὀβριμώ, Ὀβριμόθυμος (= Ares), Ὀβριμόπατρα (= Athena), Ὄπριξος (?), Ὄπωρις (?).

Albanian: *Opari.*

Bulgarian: *Opra* (regarded as a borrowing from Romanian), *Obresko.*

Romanian: *Obra, Obrea, Obraşcu, Obregia, Obreja, Opra, Opre, Oprea, Opran, Oprean, Oprescu, Opriu, Oprin, Oprina, Opriţa, Opruţ, Oproaia, Oproiu.*

Palaeo-Balkanic names in *An-* could be clarified through the Greek family of ἀνύω 'to accomplish' and ἄνω 'on high', for which some possible IE correlatives are given in Chantraine 1992, s.v. ἄνυμι. However, a possible correlation with Sumer. an 'high, sky' > god-name *Anu* should be seriously considered. Also important for this discussion is the name of the Oriental goddess recorded as *Anāhitā* in Avestan and Old Persian, and as Ἀναΐτις in Greek (cf. Kent 1989: 167 – I may mention the survival of *Anahit*ʿ as feminine first-name in Armenian); the fact that the most archaic attestations of that name are Elam. *an-na-ḫi-ud-da* and Akkad. *a-na-aḫ-i-tu-'* strongly suggests non-IE substratic origin. *On-*names may eventually be shown to represent a variant of *An-*, taking into account the ever-present /a~/o/ alternation, and the semantic closeness between the family of the above-mentioned ἀνύω, ἄνω and that of Homer. ὀνίνημι 'to benefit, to please, to delight', Dor. ὄνασος 'profit, delight'.

In their turn, *Ok-* names can be profitably referred to Homer. ὠκύς

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'swift', apparently based on Pokorny's IE **ōkú-s* 'schnell' < **ak-/ ok-* 'scharf, spitz, kantig; Stein' (for a pre-Greek 'Wechsel' /a~/o/, see Furnée 1972: 341-344).[10] A root like **ak-/ ok-* semantically forces us to go back to Stone-Age sharp and/or pointed implements. And we shall have to say more *about* a correlation I propose here, namely between Egypt. *ȧku* 'stone quarry', *ȧku* 'a kind of stone', *ȧken* 'a digging tool, hoe, plough, pick' (as given in Wallis Budge 1978) and IE **ak-/ ok-* (which is said to have produced, among other things, Pers. *āṣ* 'pierre à moudre' ~ Lat. *ac-/ āc-* 'être piquant, aigu, pointu', ōcior 'plus vite' – cf. Ernout/Meillet 1985, s.v. *ac-*). Finally, *Obr-/ Opr-* names have a more obviously substratic basis; and I am convinced that pre-Gk. ὄβριμος 'strong, mighty' is related to Slavo-Rom. *opri-* 'to stop, to command, to support' at a Palaeo-Balkanic level. Material of this kind leads to the following conclusion: in the area under discussion, mere language-contact patterns cannot possibly account for such correspondences over vast space and through long time; the explanation lies in demographic community and continuity. These must be regarded as the major factors which ensured the survival of a pre-Ancient Aegeo-Balkanic name-giving tradition. The different IE double-member model (often applied to non-IE material, as already manifest in some of the Microasian and Mycenaean examples above) appears as a later superimposition, which could not wipe out the substrate onomastic system. Proof of that persistence is also the Modern Balkan *Namenbund*, which displays a true onomastic substrate-resurgence, manifest in the rich stock of Pan-Balkan mono-members with obscure themes (and, unfortunately, with interpretations varying from country to country).

(3) A variant of the most archaic Transylvanian Romanian 'song of the sickle' (which is part of a ritual-reaping cycle) contains the

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[10] Rom. *Ocos* has its own problem, since its corresponding appellative, Rom. *ocoş* 'clever, smart, cunning, sly, proud, conceited' (dialectally attested also as *ocîş, ocăş, ocuş*), is presented by Romanian dictionaries as a borrowing of Hung. *okos* 'klug, vorsichtig' (for which see *A magyar nyelv* 1970). However, the semantic-dialectal richness of the Romanian appellative, and the fact that the earliest attestation of its Hungarian correlative is a 12th century *Okus* (close to both Homer. ὠκύς and to Rom. dial. *ocuş*) suggest rather that Hung. *okos* is of a pre-Hungarian Carpatho-Pannonian origin.

I may add that Rom. *-aş, -aş, -eş, -iş, -uş* (cf. not only Hung. *-es, -is, -us*, but also Gk. *-άς, -ής, -ίς, -ός, -ύς*) seem to be variants of one and the same substratic suffix in Romanian. And, in that respect, attention should be paid to the evolution of several important river-names from Dacian (for which we have mostly Hellenized and/or Latinized attestations) to Romanian: Dac. Μαρις/ Μορησος > Rom. *Mureş*, Dac. *Ordesos* > Rom. *Argeş*, Dac. *Samus* > Rom. *Someş* (observe /a/~/o/ in all these), Dac. Τιμησες > Rom. *Timiş*.

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following (in my unrhymed translation):

> There came down, came down
> The Holy Ox [*Boul cel Sfînt*] to the earth,
> To the well in the fields.
> He took water on his lip,
> He shook his horns,
> And he sprinkled the fields,
> And God gave us a rich crop [...].

Nobody could persuade me that this piece is inherited from steppic horsemen (or that it is the product of a recent folk bard). Such a piece of ritual folklore can be only Old European in the Balkans. And the Romanian bovine sprinkler of fertility clearly recalls Oriental parallels prehistory and early history. (Among other things, the Orient also created the association between weather gods and divine bulls.) The Transylvanian song presents a domestic ox, under the (IE) name of *bou* (apparently developed from Lat. *bōs*). And a personage of the same kin, *Boul Năzdrăvan* – 'the Magic Ox' (with horns that produce miracles when twisted) –, is a familiar figure in Romanian folk tales, in which he acts as big helper of positive heroes. More than that, in some tales the Ox asks his pupil-hero to slaughter him, since he can be more useful in death than in life (a reminder of proto-Mithraic sacrifices?). Besides *bou* Romanian also has (the etymologically more difficult) *bour* 'aurochs'. It is the image of an aurochs' head which has survived to our day as the central element of Moldova's coat of arms. And an aurochs (sometimes a stag) swimming in a river with a (sewing!) virgin on his back is a well-known motif in a cycle of South Romanian 'carols' (*colinde*). The spectacular survival of such archaic elements demonstrates the depth of bull/ox-symbolism. And it is archeology which can concretely sound that depth. Not only in the Near East, but also in Romanian territories, *boukran* representations have been in use since the Neolithic. For example, Parta is the site of one of the earliest Neolithic shrines so far discovered in Southwestern Romania; and it was there that a scepter-like ceramic object, ending in a *boukran*-image, was found in 1985. The object seems to be unique at the Vinča level Parta belongs to, but it could be referred both to the (earlier) bull-cult of Çatal Hüyük, and to a similar piece (made of copper) belonging to the Palestine of ca. 3400 BC (cf. Drasoveanu/Topolovcici 1989).

(4) *Boul cel Sfînt* is far from being the only representative of an

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archaic 'Orientalizing' vein in Romanian tradition: the *Dolf* is a fabulous sea-monster appearing in *colinde* like the one containing the following passages:

> On the sands of the Black Sea,
> Dear boyars, an apple-tree has grown,
> And it yields red apples.
> But as many as it yields,
> They never come to ripe;
> For there is a *Dolf*
> Who jumps out of the sea,
> Jumps onto the land, dear boyars,
> And starts to eat apples,
> And breaks all the branches [...]
> But young Gheorghe runs home,
> Runs to take his bow,
> His bow and his arrow;
> He aims at the *Dolf*,
> And the *Dolf* surrenders...

Mythologically, the *Dolf* may be included among other apple-stealing supernatural beings which populate Romanian folk tales (many of which are true 'myths in decay'). Linguistically, while standard Romanian *delfin* 'dolphin' is an obvious neologism (from Lat. *delphinus* and/or It. *delfino*), Rom. *dolf* (also occurring as *dulf*, and *duf* in other variants of the same *colinda*) can be referred to Ancient Greek. However, by its phonology and mythologic implications, the Romanian word is at least as archaic as Gk. *δελφίσ* (which has an obscure relationship with Gk *δελφύς*/ *δολφός* 'womb', and with the celebrated toponym *Δελφοί*, dial. *Δολφοί*).

(5) Rom. *zgripţor*/ *(z)gripsor* 'griffin' is known mainly as the name of a medieval heraldic animal, or of a mere ornament (cf. *γρύψ* in Chantraine 1992: 'désignant un animal mythique en même temps qu'une décoration d'origine orientale'). Dictionaries of Romanian – such as Tiktin 1925 – present *zgripţor* as a 'Buchwort' derived from Gk. *γρύψ*. However, Tiktin himself observes that the Romanian word is 'von merkwürdiger Bildung' (in that respect I can point out the substratic intensive-causative prefix z-, as well as the fact that the /i/ of *zgripţor* may reflect a Palaeo-Balkanic /u~/i/ – cf. Furnée 1972: 364-367 – rather than a Neo-Greek *υ*). Doubts about the assumed bookishness

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of *zgripţor* are also raised by its usage as name of a mythological eagle-like creature in archaic folk tales (where the Romanian griffin is sometimes seen in deadly conflict with a dragon). Moreover, feminine *zgripţuroaica* can designate either a folk-tale monster, or merely 'a witch' (also in today's colloquial Romanian). It is obviously worth mentioning that griffin- symbolism covered (especially during the Bronze Age) an area almost as vast as that of the sacred bull: from Mesopotamia and Anatolia, to Crete, Thracia, and Etruria. Linguistically again, Rom. *zgripţor* is undeniably a correlative (rather than a borrowing) of (pre-) Gk. *γρύψ*, which, in its turn, has as ambiguous a relationship with Akkad. *karūbu* 'griffin, cherub'.

(6) To derive Rom. *leu* 'lion' from the Latin theme *leōn-* by observing traditional reconstructive rules has proved to be a difficult task. Lat. *leō, leōnis* itself has generally been regarded as a borrowing of Gk. *λέων*, in its turn obscurely related to Akkad. *lābu*, Ugarit. *lb'*, and Hebr. *lābī*. Two related questions arise: (a) were native Balkan (Thraco-Geto-Dacian) peoples in need of a word for 'lion' when Rome conquered them?; (b) if those natives already had a word for 'lion', how different could that be from the Latin one (itself said to have been borrowed from the Balkans)? Zoo-geographically, lions were still part of the Balkan wild-life of historical times. Pausanias (who, among other things, visited the ruins of Mycenae, and saw the now famous gate 'upon which stand lions' – II, 16, 5) relates: 'The mountainous part of Thrace [...], breeds among other wild beasts lions, which once attacked the army of Xerxes, and mauled the camels carrying his supplies. These lions often roam right into the land around Mount Olympus [...]' - VI, 5, 4. But more important (since they have ancestral implications that go deeper than Thraco-Persian events) are some survivals in folk-memory in the area under discussion: Romanian folklore is unique in its rich cycle of lion-carols. Since I consider that those peculiar colinde are very significant in this context, I will give the following fragment, from a Transylvanian variant (observe the similarities with the Dolf pattern):

> Young-Man (*June*) unlocked the stable,
> And took out his bay stallion,
> Saddled and well-groomed;
> He mounted and gave the spurs,
> And let his stallion gallop to the mountains,
> To track up the Lion.

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He found the Lion asleep
Under a briar in bloom,
And as Young-Man arrived,
The Lion woke up and said:
'What are you looking for, Young-Man?
Have you come to wrestle with me,
Or you want us to shoot guns [!],
Or to fence with swords?'
'Let's wrestle, for it's more fair!'
And they wrestled a whole day,
A whole summer day, until evening,
And as the sun was setting
Young-Man broke the Lion,
Flung him to the ground,
Put a cotton rope round his neck,
And took him bound but unscathed ...

The motif Hero vs. Lion is extremely old in the Orient, as well as in the Aegeo-Balkan world (see Thracian precious-metal representations of that motif in some photos of Fol/Marazov 1977). But the Romanian lion-figure is special, by being totally humanized (or rather god-like?) and very far from the Nemean beast.[11]

(7) Young-Man deserves some attention too. His (Transylvanian Romanian) name, *June*, is clearly IE and derivable from Lat. *iuuenis* 'young' (cf. Skr. *yúva*, Lith. *jáunas*, OCSlav. *junb*, all meaning 'young'). He is a horseman, unlike Gilgamesh, Samson, or Hercules. That is a major detail, especially taking into account that direct forefathers of today's Romanians worshipped (and carved impressively numerous images of) a god known either simply as Ἥρως (a problematic word in Greek), or as 'the Thracian Horseman' (see many representations of him in both Fol/Marazov 1977 and Miclea/Florescu 1980b). It is neither difficult, nor unfounded to assume that such a divine figure reflects a basic steppic-Scythoid contribution to Palaeo-Balkan religion, with prolongations in today's folklore of the same area. And it is not surprising that, while Transylvania has its Lion, a whole cycle of

[11] It is evident that the Nemean episode, at least in its classicized version, is poorer in ritual implications than the Romanian lion-carol. However, the fact that Hercules did not use any weapons, but wrestled with (and, unlike the Romanian hero, finally strangled) the lion of Nemea may reflect a more archaic significance.

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Romanian horseman-carols 'proper' have been collected exactly in the Lower-Danubian plains. In those *colinde*, the young hero is called by his Slavo-Romanian name of *Voinic* 'Strong-Lad', or by the allegedly Latin *Făt Frumos* 'Handsome-Lad'.[12] In carols, the hero allegedly under discussion often appears as a mounted archer, accompanied by his hound, sometimes also by his hawk. Such an image is strikingly close to those of divine riders – most of whom are, however, not archers but spearmen – found in Thracian territories (see pictures in Fol/Marazov 1975); a Geto-Dacian representation on precious metal (discovered at Surcea – see Miclea/Florescu 1980b, plate 436) has exactly a horseman, with a hound under his horse and a very big hawk (or hawk-image) on his helmet. In Moldova (NE Romania), the New-Year well-wishing poem (*urătură*) I used to recite as a child had a mounted spearman as its central personage (often called *Bădica Traian* 'Master Trajan' – a vague allusion to the Roman conqueror of Dacia). Like the lion-catcher above, the more peaceful Moldavian hero wakes up one morning, saddles his stallion, but, instead of going for a hunt, he rides to the fields, 'stands up in his stirrups' (an obvious post-Thracian addition, since the Thracian Horseman, like all ancient Balkan riders, had no stirrups!), or he 'leans on his spear', looking for the best place to till. Then he calls his people (servants, or companions?) to start ploughing, usually with a plough pulled by no less than twelve oxen (and the *urătură* goes on as a ritual-poetic presentation of all the farming process, ending in a first-bread festivity). To see a connection between this and what happened in the Late-Neolithic Cucuteni culture is not mere speculation: Moldova and Western Ukraine were exactly the regions of the earliest overlappings of Aegeo-Balkan Neolithic farming and North-Pontic steppic pastoralism. It was undoubtedly there that Horse met Ox, and, probably after some initial tension, they converged into a new kind of society. If we move to more southern regions of proto-historical and ancient times, we find that archaic bull/ox symbols were sometimes literally stamped on horses: βουκέφαλος 'bull-headed' was a Greek epithet applied to horses which were branded with the sign of a bull's head (and Alexander the Great had a stallion called, probably in Macedonian, Βουκεφάλας). As for Geto-Dacian gold-and-silver smiths, they produced ornaments in

[12] *Făt Frumos* is also the name of an ever-present hero of Romanian folk tales; that name has often been rather euphemistically (and misleadingly) translated into English as 'Prince Charming'.

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which bulls and horses run 'head to head' (see such ornaments in Miclea/Florescu 1980b, plates 62-63); and the two sacred animals often appeared together with fabulous griffins (cf. Miclea/Florescu 1980b, plates 25-28, showing fragments of a Geto-Dacian helmet discovered at Cucuteni-Baiceni – a site famous for both Advanced-Neolithic finds, and Geto-Dacian ones).

(8) It is not surprising that Thracian Horseman-worshippers are represented in the *Iliad* (X, 435, 474, 519) by a 'Ρῆσος Βασιλεύς, whose horses were 'the greatest, whiter than snow, and in speed like the winds', and whose name in Thracian may have meant in fact 'king'. That name is etymologically related to Aryan and Italo-Celtic terms for an archaic royal function: e.g. Skr. *sam-rāj* 'supreme king', Lat. *rēx* 'king', OIr. *rí* 'king'. Ivanov (1989 – developing some ideas of Benveniste) thoroughly analyzed the IE family of Thrac. 'Ρῆσος; the Russian scholar dwelt upon the connection between common-IE words for 'king' and their correlatives which make up a sub-family that includes Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'to reach, to stretch out, to extend', and Lat. *regere fines* 'to mark straight-line borders', *rēgula* 'rule', *rēctus* 'right'. The semantic link between 'rightfulness' and 'kingship' is quite in keeping with the logic of history. And, reconstructive-etymologically, we can observe that in Pokorny 1959 the above-mentioned royal terms and the related words for 'right, straight' appear under one and the same root, *reĝ- ('gerade, gerade richten, lenken, recken, strecken, aufrichten [...]; Richtung, Linie [...]'). Nevertheless, in the Ernout/Meillet dictionary (which, s.v. *rēx*, states that 'il est naturel de penser que *rex* appartient au groupe de *regō*') the reconstruction **rēg-* 'roi' is slightly different from **reg*'- (= Pokorny's **reĝ-*), given as origin of *regō*. (Should we not think of variants of the same IE root coming west by different IE waves, at different times, *ὀρέγω* and *regere* first?). Anyway, as regards Thrac. 'Ρῆσος (and related derivatives, such as Ρασκος, and *Raizdos*) the name obviously is part of the proto-historical ethnolinguistic phenomenon which also implied a divine Horseman, and a name-fashion which produced Thracian double-members directly related to 'Ρῆσος, such as Ρησκουπορις, Ρασκουπορις, Ρασκουπολις Ρασκουβιτος (for which see also Detschew 1957). Formal-etymologically closer to those names are not the (*centum*) Italo-Celtic correlatives, but rather Iranian words like Avest. *erezuš* 'right' (mark that the Thracian 'hesitation' η/α/ε reflected by the names above may in fact stand for a *schwa* specific to Iranian and to certain Balkan languages, but not to Greek). That Irano-Balkan correlation,

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and the closeness of Thrace to the Lower-Danube Gate suggest that the Ῥῆσος family of names should be included among the elements viewed by Detschew 1952 as 'Iranoid'. (I prefer to use 'Scythoid', since the fundamental steppic conquerors of the Balkans, however closely related to the Scytho-Sakoid Indo-Europeanizers of Iran, had never actually touched Iran proper; in that vein, I also consider that the common designation of Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, or Ossetians as 'Iranic' may be misleading). Significantly, Russu 1969b: 134 refers the name of a Thracian king, *Raizdos/Razdos*, to 'skyth.-sarmat. PN: Αυραζακος, Φανδαραζος" and to a Romanian substratic family of words including a *rezema* 'stützen', and *razim* 'Stütze, Behauptung, Berichtung', apparently derived from the above-mentioned IE **reg'-*.[13] For a Pan-Balkan view, I must mention that Chantraine 1990 includes a very significant (but quite rare) Gk. ῥησός with a 'doubtful sense' of ἀρχός 'chief'; the rarity of the term in Greek, and its 'satemizing' phonology (/g'/ > /s/) suggest a loan (from Thracian?). Geo-historically and linguistically, if we move south of Thrace we discover an obvious victory of non-IE terms for king and kingship - cf. Chantraine 1990, s.v. τύραννος: 'terme de substrat ou emprunté à l'Asie Mineure, comme βασιλεύς, ἄναξ [...].' Also by moving south of the Ῥῆσος-fief, we can observe a decreasing importance of horsemen. After the collapse of the Mycenaean charioteers and after the 'Dark Age', Greek military strength was mainly based on tough formations of foot-soldiers; and even the Macedonians (closer neighbors and relatives of the Thracians) did not depend on Alexander's Βουκεφάλας for their spectacular victories, but on long-speared phalanges of footmen.

(9) The following question can be shocking to Romanists: how accurate is the generally accepted derivation Lat. *aqua* > Rom. *apă*? Phonologically, Lat. /k^{w}/ > Rom. /p/ has been regarded as most regular (cf. also the relationship between Lat. *quattuor* and Rom. *patru*). Therefore *aqua* > *apă* has traditionally been regarded as a perfectly safe etymology. Besides, Phryg. βέδυ 'water' – cf. Thrac. Βέδυς (cf. also Rom. river-name *Vedea*) – apparently attests to the fact that Thracians

[13] To Russu's arguments on Rom. (substratic) *raz-* I will add, in a separate paper, a reinterpretation of Rom. *răzor* 'border-furrow between fields; old measure of land' (cf. *regere fines*), and Rom. *răzeş* 'free peasant, with military duties in medieval Moldova' (the latter must initially have meant 'rightful landowner', rather than 'partner, co-owner', as interpreted by those who see its origin in Hung. *rész* 'part').

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had a word for 'water' that was closer to Slavic than to Latin. Nevertheless, Detschew 1957 gives (besides his comments on *βέδυ*) ample evidence of *aba-/ -apa/ -opa* (again /a~/o/ and /b/p/!) in Thraco-Dacian proper-names: Αβα ('Nymphe'), Αβεξελμις, *Apos/Appion* (name of a river now called *Caraş* in Romanian), Αξινοπα, *Scenopensis*, etc (cf. Microas. Αβα, Αββα, Αουα, Αππα, Απη, Αππη, Απφα, Αφφα, all in Zgusta 1978). Detschew refers those names to two IE reconstructions, namely **ab-* and **ap-*, both meaning 'Wasser, Fluß' (Pokorny 1959); he also mentions (under Αβα) an OInd. *ambhas* 'Wasser', as well as another nasalized correlative, Lat. poet. *amnis* 'river, stream'. As to IE **ab-* and **ap-*, Pokorny 1959 gives them separately; but under both he mentions the much-discussed river-names in *-apa/ -affa*, supposedly reflecting a 'lost' Germanic *ap- (< IE *ab-), or a Veneto-Illyr. *ap-*. Pokorny presents IE **ap-* as the origin of OInd. *ap-* 'Wasser' (cf. OPruss. *ape* 'river'; OPers. *āpi-* 'water' > NPers. *āb*) , as well as of river-names like Gk. Απία and Dac. Απος (see *Apos* above). To be sure, the Dacian river-name must have derived from an appellative meaning 'water' - cf. also the (pre-?)Romanian relationship between *apa* and the Romanian toponyms *Apa*, *Apoş* (maybe directly from Dac. *Apos*), and a family-name *Apă*. For a cautious approach to the Daco-Latin complications of Rom. *apă*, I must observe: the existence of Dac. *Apos* (in contrast with Phryg. *βέδυ* and Thrac. Βέδυς) cannot guarantee that the common word *ap-* for 'water' was in use in Dacian before Romanization (just as the existence of *Aachen*, *Lörach*, *Urach* does not mean that the archaic Germanic correlative of Lat. *aqua* is still used in German). However, there also are significant survivors like Alb. *avull* ~ Rom. *abur*, both meaning 'steam, vapor'. Meyer 1891 (s.v. *avul*) refers the Albanian word to an OInd. *abhrá-* 'trübes Wetter, Gewölk, Gewitterwolke, Wolke'. More recently, Huld 1983: 39-40 reviewed the contradictory (mostly reconstruction-based) opinions on the Albanian word. The surprising thing is that no author (Meyer, Vasmer, Jokl, Çabej, Pisani, Barić, Hamp are quoted by Huld, s.v *avull*) has taken into account a family of words I consider as very important for this discussion: Arm. *amp'* 'cloud' (> *amp'ot* 'cloudy'), and *ap'ur* 'soup' (observe the pre-nasalization of the first). Parallels between Armenian and Palaeo-Balkanic are valid and undeniable (whether or not early Armenians be acceptable as actual 'settlers from Phrygia' - Herodotus, VII, 73).[14] Phonologically again, in connection with the troublesome

[14] For a well-documented view on the Palaeo-Balkan-Phrygian-Armenian connection, see

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**ab-/ ap-* alternation, Pokorny gives a sophisticated (but hardly credible) phono-morphologic reconstruction proposed by Johansson. To me, however, much more significant are the following elements: (a) the actually attested *ab-/ ap-/ amb- /amp-* words presented above; (b) the peculiar phonology reflected by those words, including "alternations" that closely resemble some analysed by Furnée 1972 as "Vor-griechisch";[15] (c) the well-attested Egypt. *ábh* "moist, wet" and *ábhu* "to sprinkle, to moisten" (after Wallis Budge 1978), whose existence "Nostraticizes" the matter (or, rather, "Circum-Mediterranizes" it?). For the time being, I should stop here.

Each of the eight illustrative examples is meant to serve the theoretical aims of this paper, but each undoubtedly deserves separate study; here I could give only outlines and features of more general interest. The most general intention of this paper was to present the Southeast European ethno- and glottogenesis as shaped by factors coming from three major sources: Hamito-Mediterranean, Caucaso-Anatolian, and Kurganic-Scythoid (a fourth source, Mesolithic, was of minor importance, since it was represented by a pre-Neolithic population too sparse to really count). I confess I have deliberately avoided particular (and thorny) aspects like those of "Proto-Slavic" and of its "homeland"; works like Dušek 1978 and Trubačev 1985 tell me that we may (and should) change something in the traditional views on those matters. I also confess I am not (i.e. no longer) surprised that outstanding recent scholars have proposed such divergent locations for the "PIE homeland". Indo-European is such a rich and complex field that not only academic ideology (or local patriotism), but also mere emphasis and personal selection of arguments may lead to strikingly different conclusions.[16] Personally, I favor the Gimbutas-Martinet-Mallory model of Indo-Europeanization since it has a more accurate archeologic-chronological basis, and it can coherently explain both the fundamental common elements and the differences between the IE Aryan branch and the European one (Anatolia and Greece remain difficult). The GMM approach also matches the above-expressed idea

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Djakonoff/ Neroznak 1985: VII-XVII.

[15] It is to be observed that many pre-Greek features discussed by Furnée (for links with the present paper see especially his subchapters on β (π, φ) ~ $\mu\beta$ ($\mu\pi$, $\mu\varphi$), and on $\alpha \sim o$) correspond with Thracian features viewed as 'Etruscoid' by Detschew 1952.

[16] I consider it a good sign that a number of recent works by outstanding scholars make (some already in their titles) a clear distinction between IE language and IE speakers (cf. Gamkrelidze/ Ivanov 1984, Djakonov 1985, Martinet 1987).

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of Indo-Europeanization as gradual-successive introduction of IE elements (be they words, syntactic patterns, or funeral rites) into originally non-IE pools. Those pools (remarkable among which are the Old European, the Hatto-Anatolian, and the Dravido-Indian ones) must, however, have had certain primeval elements in common with IE, at a Nostratic level. (And I hope that the still-emerging Nostraticism will not bring forth just another corpus of abstractly correlated roots, but will also show sound observance of anthropological, archeological-historical, and ethnographic facts). While making use of the GMM main lines, we should also pay more systematic attention to the massive evidence of non-IE substrate factors, in Southeast Europe and elsewhere. Methodologically, a constructive collaboration between GMM and Pisani's confluence- model could help us get (totally) away from the schematic-unreal *Stammbaum* (i.e. from the vision of a compact glotto-ethnic block sliding from prehistory into history and smoothly dividing itself into blocklets of its own substance). But, at the same time, we must beware of the (more recent) autochthonist-immobilist extreme, with its unnaturally neat vision of internal development.

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Editorial Note:

With the present renewed controversy about the homeland and the diffusion of the Indo-Europeans, it is quite refreshing to find earlier models revitalized by

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innovative cross-cultural, cross-disiplinary approaches. The present paper, controversial as it may be in some of the issues it raises, tries to illustrate developments in the Balkans from the 7th millennium B.C. till the peak of Ottoman power in the 16th c. A.D. Although the author sometimes relies perhaps too much on such disputed views as those of Lahovary, Hübschmid or Furnée on the pre-Indo-European languages of ancient Europe, his discussion of the facts is both challenging and stimulating. There are undoubtedly links of the type the Nostraticists have tried to illustrate, and the old confluence theory has been interestingly revived quite recently by such scholars as Stefan Zimmer in his *Ursprache, Urvolk und Indogermanisierung: Zur Methode der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* (Innsbruch, 1990). Nevertheless, many Indo-Europeanists may find it difficult to agree with the author's etymological connections when he lumps together the Sumerian sky-god *Anu*, the Avestan deity *Anāhitā* and Greek *a-núō* 'accomplish' and *onínēmi* 'benefit, please.' His presentation of the earliest Balkan linguistic situations might also have profited greatly from a discussion in depth of the critical views of Radoslav Katičić (*Ancient Languages of the Balkans*. 2 vols. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1976). But we gladly leave it to our readership to accept or reject those of the author's hypotheses with which they agree or disagree.

(E.P.)

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The Astronomy of the Vedic Altars and the Ṛgveda

Subhash C. Kak
Louisiana State University

1. Introduction

It was recently shown (Kak 1991) that the design of certain Vedic fire altars represented astronomical facts. The fire altar was used to represent certain features of the equivalence between the elements of the macrocosmos and the microcosmos, that played a central role in Vedic thought. Altar designs are sketched in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, two early Vedic texts.

A considerable part of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa deals with altar construction in the agnicayana rite. Agnicayana altars are supposed to symbolize the universe. Gārhapatya represents the earth (ŚB 7.1.1.13), the dhiṣṇya hearths represent space (ŚB 7.1.2.12), and the āhavanīya altar represents sky (ŚB 8.2.1,2). This last altar is made in 5 layers. The sky is taken to represent the universe, therefore it includes space and earth. The first layer represents the earth, the third the space, and the fifth the sky. The second layer represents the joining of the earth and space, whereas the fourth layer represents the joining of space and sky. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB 10.4.3.9) declares that (astronomical) knowledge is represented through altar construction in agnicayana.

2. Bricks and enclosing stones

Bricks to be used in altar construction were classified into two types: ordinary (*lokampṛṇā*) and special (*yajuṣmatī*). Each *yajuṣmatī* brick was consecrated in a specific manner and each such brick was marked in a unique way. Bricks were built in different shapes to different measurements.

ŚB 10.4.3.14-20 describes the total number of yajuṣmatī bricks to be 395. This was to be taken as 360 days of the year and 36 additional (including one being the fillings between the bricks) as the days of the intercalary month. By layers, the first has 98, the second has 41, the third has 71, the fourth has 47, and the fifth has 138 (ŚB 10.4.3.14-18). The sum of the bricks in the fourth and the fifth layers refer to the 186 (together with the one space filling) *tithis* in the half-year. (A tithi

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is the lunar day reckoned from one moonrise to another.) The number of bricks in the third and the fourth layers equals the integer nearest to one third the number of days in the lunar year. The number of bricks in the third layer equals the integer nearest to one fifth of the number of days in the lunar year. The number of bricks in the second and the third layers equals one third the number of days in a nakṣatra year of 28 times 12 = 336 days.

Once the basic number of 21 is subtracted from the number of bricks in the first layer, the sum of the remainder together with the bricks in the second layer are once again the integer nearest one third the number of days in the lunar year.

The total lumber of lokampṛṇā bricks is 10,800 which equals the number of muhūrtas in a year (1 day = 30 muhūrtas). Of these 21 go into the gārhapatya, 78 into the eight dhiṣṇya hearths, and the rest go into the āhavanīya altar.

The fire altars are surrounded by 360 enclosing stones, of these 21 are around the gārhapatya, 78 around the dhiṣṇya, and 261 around the āhavanīya (ŚB 10.4.3.13). The āhavanīya includes the dhiṣṇya, therefore the number of days assigned exclusively to the āhavanīya is 261-78= 183 days, which is equal to the days in the uttarāyaṇa of a 366 day year. The choice of the 21 days for the gārhaptya is traditionally ascribed to the unique symbolism of this number. It is from 12 months, 5 seasons, 3 worlds, and the sun (TS 7.3.10.5, ŚB 7.1.1.34) or as *triṣaptā* it may refer to 'three sevens' as in Ṛṣis, planets, and the like (RV 10.90.15; AV 1.1.1). It may also refer to 5 mahābhūtas (earth, water, fire, air, space) plus 5 breaths (prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna, samāna) plus 5 jñānendriyas (organs of cognition) plus 5 karmendriyas (organs of action) plus the antaḥkaraṇa (the inner air). A more fundamental significance for the number 21 will be provided later in the paper. Once the numbers 21 and 183 are chosen the number 78 becomes the only choice for the dhiṣṇya.

The altars, made in five layers of bricks, reached to the height of the knee. Each layer in the falcon altar had 200 bricks leading thus to a total of 1,000 bricks in the five layers. It appears that the Ṛgveda knew of such an altar because Puruṣa is described in RV 10.90 as "thousand headed, thousand eyed, thousand footed." In some cases ten or fifteen layers of bricks were prescribed. The basic falcon-shaped altar had an area of 7 1/2 square puruṣa. The body of the basic falcon-shaped altar was 2 × 2 (=4) square puruṣas, the wings and the tail were one square puruṣa each. To make the shape look more like

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that of a bird, the wings were lengthened by one-fifth of a puruṣa and the tail was lengthened by one-tenth of a puruṣa (Figure 1). This defined the total area of 7 1/2 square puruṣas at the end of the first construction. On the second construction the area of the altar was increased by one square puruṣa to a total of 8 1/2 puruṣas. Further constructions successively increased the area by one square puruṣa at each step until one came to the "one-hundred-and-one-[and-a-half]-fold" altar. In the construction of the larger altars the same shape as the basic altar is required and this requires solution of several geometric problems including that of the theorem of the diagonal. It is important to note that the total number of altars to be built in a sequence is 95.

3. The 95 Year Yājñavalkya Period

The most significant observation from the agnicayana ritual is that it described a 95 year cycle as represented by the altars going from the size of 7 1/2 square puruṣa to 101 1/2 square puruṣa. Since tradition ascribes the authorship of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to Yājñavalkya (Mahābhārata 12.11739), we have called it the *Yājñavalkya cycle* (Kak 1991).

The logic behind this cycle is that this leads to exactly 35 intercalary months (with a residual small error) in 95 years if the year is counted as 360 tithis. The use of the Yājñavalkya cycle at a later time is corroborated by the reference to the 2850 year cycle in the *Romakasiddhānta*, which is 30 times 95, or a "month" of such a cycle.

4. The Great Yuga

PB 25.17.1 speaks of how the world is set in motion after a 1000 year sacrificial rite of Prajāpati. ŚB 10.4.4.2 speaks of the number of stars in the sky being equal to the number of muhūrtas (1 day = 30 muhūrtas) in 1,000 years or $1000 \times 360 \times 30 = 10{,}800{,}000$. This is followed by consideration of muhūrta as a basic measure in the consideration of the grand year of 1,000 ordinary years. A muhūrta is to a day what a day is to a month. In other words the grand year consists of 10,800,000 units, which were presumably taken to correspond to years. Note also that PB 16.8.6 and PB 21.1.9 declare that the sun is 1000 earth diameters away from the earth.

That Ṛgveda was in itself taken to represent a symbolic altar of mantras is confirmed by the number of syllables in the Ṛgveda. ŚB 10.4.2.23 describes the Ṛk-verses to total 432,000 syllables. Yajurveda

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and Sāmaveda were supposed to add up to another 432,000 syllables in a proportion of 2:1. Altogether these three Vedas add up to 864,000 syllables.

5. The Evidence from the Ṛgveda

The Ṛgveda consists of 1017 main hymns and an additional 11 *khila* hymns that are called the Vālakhilya hymns. Several indexes to the Ṛgveda were written quite early. Śaunaka in his early index describes the number of words in the Ṛgveda to be 153,286 but this does not include the khilas, and this confirms that the 1017 hymns formed the main book, and the rest served as an appendix.

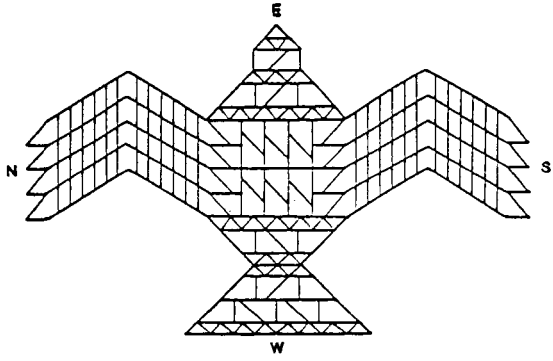

FIGURE 1: Variant of the basic altar bird.

The hymns are divided into 10 maṇḍalas (books) of varying lengths. The question that we consider now is whether there is any design to the organization of the hymns. One answer is implicit in the statement in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that describes the number of syllables in Ṛgveda to be 432,000 which equals the number of muhūrtas (1 day = 30 muhūrtas) in 40 years. The number of muhūrtas in a year is 10,800. But we wish to seek more astronomical facts.

6. Two Fundamental Numbers: 108 and 339

We first show that the Vedic ṛṣis had found the fundamental astronomical numbers 108 and 339 (Kak 1992b).

The number 108 is roughly the average distance that the sun is in terms of its own diameter from the earth; likewise, it is also the

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average distance that the moon is in terms of its own diameter from the earth. (The true averages obtained using modern instruments are 107.6 and 110.6 respectively, but 108 should be considered an excellent early approximation.) It is owing to this marvelous coincidence that the angular size of the sun and the moon, viewed from the earth, is about identical.

It is easy to compute this number. The angular measurement of the sun can be obtained quite easily during an eclipse. The angular measurement of the moon can be made on any clear full moon night. A easy check on this measurement would be to make a person hold a pole at a distance that is exactly 108 times its length and confirm that the angular measurement is the same. Nevertheless, the computation of this number would require careful observations. Furthermore, 108 is an average and due to the ellipticity of the orbits of the earth and the moon the distance values vary with the seasons.

It may be noted that the sky was divided into 180 degrees, a division that is at the basis of the nominal representation of the year by 360 days. It turns out that the angular measurement of the sun or the moon is about 0.54 degrees. That this number is 1/200 of 108 invests both the numbers with enhanced significance. Furthermore, 108 is 27 × 4, where the mapping of the sky into 27 nakṣatras goes back to at least TS 4.4.10.1-3.

The second number 339 is simply the number of disks of the sun or the moon to measure the path across the sky:

$$\pi \times 108 \approx 339$$

This represents the earliest approximation to π that takes it equal to 3.1389. Another way one might obtain the number 339 is:

$$0.54 \times 339 \approx 183$$

The actual product is more than 180 since 0.54 degree is slightly larger than the true angular size of the sun or the moon. Nevertheless, 183 is also of significance since it represents half the number of days in the year.

Once 108 was arrived at 339 could be easily calculated. These estimates must have been refined through mutually related measurements. For example, one could count the number of disks of the sun

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or the moon that would go into an arc of a specified extent.

With 339 being the number of what one might call sun steps during the day, the ṛṣis would have liked to relate it to the 183 days of the half-year. This has an excess of 156 units, which when divided into the 2 sandhyās of the dawn and the dusk apportion 78 to each.

7. The Total Number of the Hymns

Note that in agnicayana 21 bricks go into the formation of the gārhapatya altar. At the same time 21 enclosing stones go around the gārhapatya, whereas the number of such stones around the dhiṣṇya and the āhavanīya are 78 and 261 respectively making a total of 360. The gārhapatya represents the earth, whereas the dhiṣṇya and the āhavanīya represent the space and the sky respectively. In analogy 21 days of the year may be called gārhapatya days; the remaining 339 days of the year represent the 78 days of the space and the 261 days of the sky.

Many hymns are very brief whereas others are much longer. This suggests that when the compilation of the hymns into the Ṛgveda was made the total number must have played a role. Now $1017 = 3 \times 339$. Also note that $339 + 21 = 360$. The 1017 hymns then symbolize the 339×3 divine (space and sky) days of the three worlds.

Recall again the theory of the Vedic knowledge based on a similarity between the cosmic, the terrestrial, and the spiritual. This is why the geography of the Ṛgveda counts just three sevens or 21 rivers in RV 10.75.

Also note that a lunar day, called a *tithi*, was considered equal to 9 *bhāṃśas*. As explained in Kak (1991) the RV 3.9.9 and RV 10.52.6 reference to 3339 gods in a year, personified as Agni, represents the 371 tithis in the year. It is also quite possible that this 3339 is coded doubly into the 339×3 for the total number of hymns.

8. The Organization of the Books

The indexes ascribe books 2 to 7 to the ṛṣis Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, and Vasiṣṭha or their families. Book 9 is a collection of hymns by several ṛṣis to Soma Pavamāna, or Soma poured through the filter. Book 1 which consists of 191 hymns is classed into 15 groups of hymns by different seers. Book 10 also consists of 191 hymns and its first 84 hymns are classed into 25 groups based on ṛṣis, and its remaining 107 hymns are counted singly.

The classification of the family books 2 to 7 is based on hymns to

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different gods and these groups are 5, 4, 11, 7, 5, 12 respectively. Book 8 hymns are grouped according to the particular seers of the Kaṇva family. Including the Vālakhilya hymns these constitute 19 groups. The hymns of Book 9 are grouped into 7 according to the metre. These metres are Gāyatri, Jagati, Triṣṭubh, Anuṣṭubh, Uṣṇih, Pragātha, and miscellaneous. These hymns are by a host of ṛṣis including Bhṛgu, Kaśyapa, and Kavi Uśanas. This information is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Hymns and groups

Books	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hymns	191	43	62	58	87	75	104	92+11	114	191
Groups	15	5	4	11	7	5	12	18+1	7	25+107

One would expect that if the Ṛgveda is considered akin to the five-layered altar described in the Brāhmaṇas (Kak 1991) then the first two books should correspond to the space intermediate to the earth and the sky. Now the number that represents space is 78. When used with the multiplier of 3 for the three worlds, this yields a total of 234 hymns. We find that is indeed the number of hymns in these two books. One may represent the Ṛgvedic books as a five-layered altar of mantras as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2: The altar of books

Book 10	Book 9
Book 7	Book 8
Book 5	Book 6
Book 3	Book 4
Book 2	Book 1

Note that the structure of this representation has considerable

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regularity. In particular, Books [4+6+8+9] = 339. Other relationships are apparent from Table 3.

TABLE 3: Hymns in the altar of books

191	114
104	92
87	75
62	58
43	191

We see also that the number of hymns in the different books (maṇḍalas) satisfy the following relationships:

Books [1+2+3+4] = 354 (Lunar year)
Books [5+6] = 162 (1/2 Nakṣatra year)
Books [4+5+6+7] = 324 (Nakṣatra year)
Books [6+7] = Books [5+8] = 179 =
1/2 Books [1+6+8] = 1/2 Books [5+6+7+8]
Books [5+7] = Book [1] = Book [10]

Note further,

$$1/2 \text{ nakṣatra year} + 21 = 1/2 \text{ year of } 366 \text{ days}$$

The number of hymns in Books 1 and 10 is 191 each. This number also satisfies the interesting equality:

$$191 = 113 + 78$$

where the significance of 113 and 78 has already been explained.

9. More on the Astronomical Basis

The total number of groups, excluding the Vālakhilya hymns, is 216. This is twice the 108 diameters of the sun that describe the

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distance from the sun to the earth. This is 1/2000 the fundamental great yuga number of 432,000 which according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa equals the number of syllables in the Ṛgveda.

PB 16.8.6, PB 21.1.9 speak of the sun being at a distance of a thousand earths from the earth. This statement is not factually correct since the correct distance is more than 10 times greater than this figure. But the number of 432,000 may now be seen as a product of the total units of the sun and the earth diameters that are assumed to be separating the two.

10. Evidence from Other Vedic Texts

I have recently shown that the structure of the Bhagavadgītā also represents the number 339, or rather the proportion 339/360 (Kak 1992c). I now consider the organization of the Atharvaveda.

The Atharvaveda consists of 19 main books and an appendix (often termed Book 20) called the Kuntāpa-khila. These main books fall into 4 divisions. The first division consists of the Books 1 through 7 that have hymns that vary from 1 to 18 verses. The second division consists of the Books 8 through 12 where the hymns have verses that vary from 21 to 73. The third division consists of Books 13 through 18 which are characterized by a unity of subjects. These books are called the Rohita, Wedding, Vrātya, Paritta, Sun, and Funeral books, respectively. The hymns here vary from lengths of 26 to 91 verses. The hymns of Book 19 have lengths less than 20 verses, with two exceptions of 19.22 and 19.23 where the lengths are 21 and 30 verses. The other hymns of Book 19 fall into the same category as books of the first division. The appendix of Book 20 consists of 10 hymns of 150 verses.

Whitney divided the third division into 38 hymns, but the traditional reckoning spreads the same verses into only 15 hymns. Lanman, in his comments on Whitney's translation, recognized the superiority of a division into 15 hymns on other grounds related to patterning as well.

The organization is summarized in Table 4.

Note that the total number of hymns if 565 which is 113 times 5. Note that 113 is 339/3. Also note that the total number of hymns in the Ṛgveda is 113 times 9. This establishes that the same person or tradition was responsible for the organization of the two Vedas.

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TABLE 4: Books of the Atharvaveda

Book	Hymns	Verses
1	35	153
2	36	207
3	31	230
4	40	324
5	31	376
6	142	454
7	118	286
8	10	259
9	10	302
10	10	350
11	10	313
12	5	304
13	4	188
14	2	139
15	2	141
16	2	93
17	1	30
18	4	283
19	72	456
Total	565	4888

It is interesting to note the various kinds of symmetries amongst the books considering the hymn totals. One way to represent these is as in Table 5.

TABLE 5: Certain book symmetries

Books [8 through 20;142]
Book [7;118]
Book [6;142]
Book [3;31], Book [4;40], Book [5;31]
Book [1;35], Book [2;36]

As in the Ṛgvedic books, one may also view the Atharvaveda books as a five-layered altar. One possibility, designed to parallel the book-altar of the Ṛgvedic, is shown below.

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TABLE 6: Atharvaveda books as an altar

Book[19]	Books[13 through 18]
Book[7]	Books[8 through 12]
Book[5]	Book[6]
Book[3]	Book[4]
Book[2]	Book[1]

The arrangement of the Vedas as well as the authorship of the Bhagavadgītā is ascribed by tradition to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. The ratio of 339/360 that we found in the Bhagavadgītā is a commonality between the two. One may consider it as a signature by Vyāsa or by one that knew of this tradition. Since the arrangement of the Atharvaveda also shows this number, we have another evidence in support of the tradition.

11. The Space Number 78

Note that the total number of verses of the four Vedas is by one tradition (Devi Chand 1988) taken to be 20358. It is not surprising then that this number is 261 × 78, two fundamental numbers in the design of altars (Kak 1991). Also 261+78 = 339. This confirms the unity in the arrangement of the four Vedas.

One might ask what meaning the total number of verses in the Atharvaveda might have. When the verses of the Kuntāpa-khila as well as the paryāya hymns are added we get a total of 5226 verses (See page cxlvii of the Whitney translation). This is exactly equal to 67 × 78. Once again we see the Vedic number 78 as a constituent of the total.

The division of the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda is not of the same form as that of Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda; this may be one reason why we do not find similar dependence on the numbers 113 or 339 in these two other Vedas. However, it is likely that the specific structure there as well represents a code.

Our analysis also suggests that, contrary to Whitney's opinion, Book 19 was a part of the original text of the Atharvaveda and not an appendix.

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12. The Number of Words

According to Śaunaka the total number of words in the Ṛgveda is 153,286. Since Ṛgveda poetry is in terms of double verses, the half of the word count becomes the more fundamental number. This total is 76,913. It is significant that this number is a prime.

The probability that a number chosen randomly would turn out to be a prime is small. The question may therefore be asked if the Vedic sages knew the concept of primality. A categorical answer to this question cannot be provided based on the Ṛgveda word count alone. But if it turns out that other Vedic texts also have word counts that are prime, one would be certain that primality was understood then.

13. Conclusions

One might assume that the compilation of the hymns was made based on a large number of available hymns. Just as the total number of 1017 was deliberately chosen, it is also likely that the number of hymns in the individual books had astronomical significance. This may also have been true of the manner in which the hymns were grouped.

The Vālakhilya hymns appear to have the significance of the 11 extra days that need to be added to the lunar year to obtain the solar year (Kak 1991). At one level the entire Ṛgveda appears to be a representation in mantras of the agnicayana rite.

One reason why the syllables of the Ṛgveda were preserved with incredible fidelity is that the total represented measurements of natural processes. We do not yet know the significance of all the books of the Ṛgveda, but other details are emerging that will be discussed elsewhere.

The analysis shown in the paper establishes that during the Vedic phase careful astronomical observations were being made. This fact fits into the larger picture of the development of ancient Indian society that has recently been sketched by the author (Kak 1992a).

Abbreviations for Vedic Texts

AV Atharvaveda
PB Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
RV Ṛgveda
SB Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TS Taittirīya Saṃhitā

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ESSAYS ON GERMANIC RELIGION

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Soundboxes of the Divine: Hœnir, Sencha, Gwalchmai

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In a recent study entitled "Divine Names, Myths and Etymologies in the Germanic World", Edgar C. Polomé has reviewed a number of largely Norse theonyms and the widely divergent explanations for these names and functions of the divine figures that have been constructed on the frequently narrow base of etymological speculation. After comment on *Ingunar-Freyr*, *Mardǫll* (a name of Freyja), *Gymir* (a giant), *Jólfr* and *Jǫlfuðr* (epithets of Óðinn), and the *matres* or *matronae*, he offers the following cautionary summary: "Before venturing any hypothesis as to the origin of a divine name, one has to first study the whole FILE: texts, monuments, iconography, geographic distribution, archaeological evidence of the cult, socio-cultural context, etc." (456). But he surely shares the frustration of other scholars in the field over the frequent absence of evidence from several of these categories. He then turns to a study of the Norse deity Hœnir, with which he closes his article.

After passing in review most of the sparse textual evidence for Hœnir, drawn from *Vǫluspá* and Snorri's various writings (see *infra*), he schematically presents the etymological options that have been elaborated in earlier studies: a) derivations from bird names, b) reference to intellectual acumen, c) identification with Óðinn, d) interpretation as an atmospheric god, and e) epithets relating to his attributes, e.g., power, protection. He concludes: "Accordingly, none of the currently proposed etymologies accounts for Hœnir's functions, and none can therefore be considered as adequate. For the time being, the Old Norse divine name Hœnir remains, actually, without etymology" (459).

The great virtue of such an article is to relevel the playing field and provide a vantage point on the centre stripe from which to start fresh play. Given that our meagre evidence for Hœnir is exclusively textual, it might be in the spirit if not the letter of Polomé's insistence on the complete file to seize on the category of geography, not to look for distribution, for which we have no encouragement, but for what we

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may provisionally call cultural isoglosses.

The Old Irish Ulster cycle of epic tales, so profitably summarized in Rudolf Thurneysen's *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, features a considerable number of recurrent major figures: King Conchobar, the paramount hero Cú Chulainn, his foster-father Fergus mac Roích, the warriors Conall Cernach and Lóegaire Búadach, the venom-tongued Bricriu, but also an even greater number of incidental figures, who nonetheless maintain distinct and consistent profiles throughout the tales. One of these is a close companion of Conchobar, the well-spoken Sencha mac Ailella, an Irish Nestor figure. In *Compert Con Culainn* (*The Conception of Cú Chulainn*, 7f.) he is selected with other members and functionaries of the royal court as foster-father to the infant Sétanta, Conchobar's nephew (incestuously conceived son in another tradition), later to be renamed Cú Chulainn. Blai, the hospitaller, will teach him hospitality, Fergus, martial valor, Amergin, poetry. In his bride-winning tale, *Tochmarc Emire* (*The Wooing of Emer*), Cú Chulainn summarizes the contribution of Sencha as follows:

> Fair-speeched Sencha has taught me, so that I am strong, wise, swift, deft. I am prudent in judgment, my memory is good. Before wise men, I make answer to many; I give heed to their arguments. I direct the judgments of all the men of Ulster, and through the training of Sencha, my decisions are unalterable (29).

In one of the troops that are passed in review in *Táin bó Cúalnge* (*The Cattleraid of Cooley*, ll. 3623f.), Sencha is seated before the king, a single other prominent warrior beside him. Epithets attached to Sencha underscore his speaking abilities; frequently called *erlabraid* 'eloquent', his voice is slow and sonorous. He is depicted as aged, with white hair and clothing. In the *Táin*, it is Sencha who advises the Ulster host to wait in the valley until sun-up, before the final attack on the enemy; elsewhere, too, Sencha has a counselling role. His main function, however, is mediation, which takes a number of forms: 1) negotiation, as Conchobar's emissary to secure Cú Chulainn's temporary surrender of his kingdom, or the king's representative receiving delegations (*Mesca Ulad: The Intoxication of the Ulstermen*), 2) arbitration, referring Cú Chulainn and two other warriors contending for the Champion's Portion to Ailill for a judgment on their bravery, or encouraging their wives to engage in a war of words to settle precedence at court, rather than tussling (both in *Fled Bricrend: The Feast of Bricriu*), and 3) pacification, either waving his branch of peace (*cráeb sída*) to quieten

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the contentious Ulster warriors, quarrelling and scrapping among themselves (*Mesca Ulad, Fled Bricrend, Táin bó Cúalnge*) or identifying an approaching host as friendly (*Cath Ruis na Ríg: The Battle of Ruis na Ríg*). There is some scant evidence to suggest that the Sencha of the Ulster cycle may have had divine antecedents. Cú Ruí describes him as a good speaker among mortal men and peacemaker among the Ulstermen, a man of the world from sun to sun, one who can make peace with three fair words (*Mesca Ulad*, ll. 756ff.). In *Fled Bricrend* he is even called *día talmaide* (ll. 8209f.), a 'god on earth', because of his compelling eloquence.

Thurneysen (72) called Sencha one of the court poets (*filid*), but this must be seen as an introductory reference in passing rather than a narrow categorization. Elsewhere Sencha is identified among the *áes dána* 'people of art' (*Cath Ruis na Ríg*), although a specific function such as druid, judge, poet is never formally ascribed. Had an early Irish public been asked to identify Sencha in stricter terms, they might well have assumed that it was the common term *sencha(e)* 'historian', here archetypically raised to the status of a personal name. Related terms were the older form *senchaid* 'custodian of tradition, historian', *senchas, senchus* 'history', and derivative verb forms. The semantic core here is *sen* 'old' (cf. Lat. *senex*). But, as we have seen, Sencha, while an eloquent speaker, is never presented as speaking of history or traditional lore.

It then seems legitimate to question whether the name and function might not have originated in another conceptual field. It is now generally believed that the responsibilities of poet, judge, and historian were over time split off from the central function of druid, as Irish courts grew in size and complexity, perhaps in proportion to their material prosperity. If Sencha's origins are then to be sought in the druid's multi-faceted role, one might entertain the speculation that the semantic core of the name is not *sen* 'old' but *sén* 'sign, omen, portent; incantation, charm; favorable sign' (cf. Welsh *swyn* 'charm, sign', Cornish *sona* 'bless'; Lewis and Pedersen, 57; Vendryes, s. v. *sén*). **Séncha* would then have been an augur or seer, and the Irish texts give frequent examples of the druid as prophet, as in *Longes mac nUislenn* (*The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*), where it is Sencha who calms the Ulstermen, startled when Derdriu cries out in her mother's womb, but the druid Cathbad who gives the fateful prophecy. But OIr. *sén*, whatever its subsequent semantic downgrading or popularization to 'charm', originated as a loan word from the Latin of the Christian

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church (*signum*) and it must be judged highly unlikely that such a derivative would become attached to a conventional figure of the Ulster cycle of texts, especially one thought to display affinities with a non-Christian conception of the divine.

Early Irish also had a verb *sennid* (*DIL*: *seinnid*) 'sounds, plays (an instrument)', verbal noun *senim* 'sounding, sound, note', deriving from the I-E root **sṷen-* (cf. Lat. *sonare*, Skt. *svánati* 'sounds', OE *swinn* and OIr. *séis* 'music', the latter from **sṷens-*, ON *svanr* '[male] swan', Eng. *swan* [Pokorny, 1046; Mann, 1347]; on the belief that the bird sang only before death, see *infra*). A derivative from this source accords extremely well with the sonorous quality of Sencha's voice. As a figure branching off from the druid's, Sencha did not carry the function of foretelling the future with him but, with a Janus-like twist, bore a name perhaps resonating with the past, while making, in the contingent present, performative utterances in the interests of peace with external forces and the resolution of contention within the Ulster community. The Irish tradition is noteworthy for the many instances of artistic creation illustrated in human terms as the transformation from blindness to sight, from ugliness to beauty, and, of interest in this context, from dumbness to speech, e.g., the judge Morann (Ford). Here, we would do well to recognize an Old Testament precedent in Moses' lack of eloquence and God's reference to the dumb, deaf and blind to whom he alone grants the necessary faculties (Exodus 4:10ff.). In the Irish tradition the artist is the medium of the divine Logos. In synchronic terms, speech must stand in functional opposition to silence, and the question of whether or not to speak will recur in our consideration of the Norse evidence. Before leaving Sencha it is worth noting in how sharp contrast he stands to Bricriu Venom-Tongue, whose epithet is also speech-related and whose purpose it is to promote strife and contention. In this he often becomes an unwilling victim, e.g., falling from his bower in *Fled Bricrend*, when it collapses over the hall he had specially constructed in order to invite the Ulstermen, spy on them, and create the preconditions for a debilitating internal struggle over precedence and rank.

Norse Loki, he too a builder of halls, comes readily to mind, and with this we return to Hœnir. Hœnir, along with Loki, is a frequent travelling companion of Óðinn (stories of the theft of Iðunn's apples and the otter and his human family). In this regard, Loki is called in skaldic verse 'the trier of Hœnir's mind' and 'Hœnir's friend', although perhaps no great emphasis should be put on amity; companion,

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colleague, or functional opposite may better catch the distinction. He also figures at one remove from Loki in the listing of the twelve major Norse gods at the beginning of Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál*, with Forseti, the settler of disputes, perhaps strategically placed between them. Other descriptors listed by Snorri are 'Óðinn's table companion, comrade, confidant' plus the more enigmatic 'swift Ás', 'longfoot' and *aurkonungr* 'mud king' (*Skáldskaparmál*, par. 23). In this listing, too, Hœnir is followed by Loki. Proximity to Óðinn is also apparent in *Vǫluspá*'s version of the creation myth, where the first humans Askr and Embla are given breath by Óðinn, *óðr* by Hœnir, and hair and fair countenance by Lóðurr. *Óðr* is a debated word in this context, the issue complicated by a substitution in Snorri's prose retelling, which has as the second gifts *vit ok hrœring* ("consciousness and movement", Faulkes, 13). *Óðr* is thought to lie behind the theonym *Óðinn*, and is also used of rage and fury. When the malevolent sons of the Hebridean sorcerer Kotkell in *Laxdæla saga* learn that a court charge is being made concerning their thieving, they are described as follows: *þeir bræðir urðu óðir við þetta* "the brothers became furious at this" (Ch. 35), an economical linking of the supreme divinity, magic and emotional arousal. *Óðr* in the creation story has been variously translated as "soul" (Ström), "reason" (Schach, 92), *pensée réfléchie* (Dumézil, 223ff.). The conclusions, however tentative, towards which my inquiry directs me encourage support for Polomé's renderings: 'inspired cerebral activity/thought'.

This brings us to the knotty problem of Hœnir's role in the peace treaty between the Æsir and Vanir. As hostages, the latter send Njǫrðr, the former the handsome Hœnir accompanied by the wise Mímir. But Hœnir, while well received among the Vanir, is indecisive when not supported by Mímir. It then seems legitimate, as Polomé has done, to see Hœnir as a mouthpiece, through which wisdom, originating elsewhere in the suprahuman world, is communicated. This accords well with the earlier proposed identification of *óðr* as divinely inspired thought, still at the potential stage preceding speech and communication. Were the Æsir acting in good faith? Ethics in Ásgarðr, we know, was not a strong point. The Vanir conclude that the Æsir intended to dupe them through a hostage that appeared to offer more than he was ready to deliver, a ruse that they saw through and countered by cutting off Mímir's head. The head is eventually appropriated by Óðinn to provide prophetic wisdom.

Hœnir has been called the 'silent' god and 'most timid' (*Sǫgubrot*),

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but 'reticent' may better capture his nature, since we are here faced not with speechlessness but the unrealized potential for speech, perhaps the inspired thought, but not the word. As a hostage, Hœnir represents potency, power contained. But when Hœnir does speak, we may assume these to be performative utterances; once communicated, inspired thought modifies and determines external reality. In Gimlé, after the apocalypse of Ragnarǫk has cleared the way for a better world, Hœnir's responsibility will be divinatory practises, aided by his magic wand. Here, in a new age of innocence, one might expect Hœnir to be less reticent.

At best, the early Irish Sencha can but offer interesting points of reference for our closer scrutiny of Norse Hœnir, unless we have some clinching piece of evidence that would tip the balance in favor of the identification of a clear-cut cultural isogloss. Certainly, the names as we know them do not, from the phonological vantage point, provide much encouragement. But if *Sencha* is related to *sennid* 'sounds', we might at a minimum explore Hœnir for some similarity. Most of the earlier proposed etymologies offer no contact with this conception, but one, at a certain remove, does. Point (a) in Polomé's concluding summary of etymological options reads as follows:

> Derivations from birds' names: Grk κύκνος 'swan' as well as the Germanic name of the rooster have been considered. In the first case, it would represent Gmc **huhnijaz*, derived from IE **kukno-*, whose original meaning would be 'shining, white'. In the second case, it would reflect Gmc **hōnisnō* and be connected with ON *hani* 'rooster', *hœna* 'hen' (from Gmc **hōnjōn*), which are, furthermore, related to Lat *cicōnia* 'stork'. Would he, accordingly, be a 'rooster god'? His affinity with certain birds does not seem sufficiently well-established to warrant such an etymology, which would, anyhow, be fairly difficult to reconcile with his essential function as we have defined it. (458)

For Lat. *cicōnia* 'stork', Pokorny (525) entertains a root reflective not of color but of song: **kan-*. Familiar derivatives are Lat. *cano* 'sing' but also 'prophesy' and *carmen* 'song, incantation' < **canmen* (cf. Welsh *gogoniant* 'fame'). If the notion of sacred speech informs the Hœnir figure, interference from the chromatic quarter, i.e., IE **kukno-* 'shining', and avian associations may have subsequently been added, as the contours of the divine figure sharpened (cf. the association of white hair and clothing with Sencha). Noting the Swedish expression *odensvala* 'Óðinn's swallow' for the stork, it is of interest that the family of ciconiiforms, to which the stork, heron and bittern belong, are distinctive in their vocalization. Storks are rather silent, at most

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croaking or grunting, or clapping their mandibles; herons emit harsh cries; bitterns boom over long distances. Such characteristics might well be seen as the natural world's equivalent to the often enigmatic message of prophecy or the heightened emotion that accompanied communication with the divine. Germanic terms for the swan (< I-E **su̯en-*), believed silent until on the point of death, also reflect this pairing of silence and heightened utterance. Another lexical complex of interest in this context is ON *galdr* 'sacred incantation', the metrical term *galdralag* 'incantation metre', characterized by parallelism and limited lexical variation in pairs of lines (*Háttatal*, 101), and the verb *gala* 'sing, chant', but also 'crow (of a cock)'. Here we are not too far from some of the roles played by Hœnir, the epithets used of him, or the faculty of *óðr*, divinely inspired thought, realizable in speech as counsel, admonition, prophecy. *Galdr* and *óðr* might be seen as the two paths, upwards and downwards, of communication between the human and the divine. The larger context for these considerations is the widespread practise of ornithomancy or prediction of future events on the basis of birds' flight (Ross).

One further note. ON *aurr* 'wet clay', whence Hœnir's epithet *aurkonungr*, seems to refer to the bogs and marshes of the natural environment, rather than the mud of the farmyard. Is it legitimate to see in *aurr* a meeting of earth and water, as one may, in the heron and stork, see a meeting of air, earth and water? At these liminal but also nodal points such wading birds may symbolize mediation between the human and the divine, perhaps active at equivalent points, not spatial but temporal, in the life of man, most significantly before death (see Mallory, 232; of the birds here considered, only the crane figures in his putative Proto-Indo-European avian lexicon, as *ger*). In addition to the aquatic bird-maidens of Irish tradition and the god Lug's magically endowed crane-bag, one notes the association of herons with longevity and communication, a potent enough symbol to have been appropriated for Christian ecclesiastical purposes, e.g., heron motifs in the Colum Cille stories (Nagy).

If the points of contact between Sencha and Hœnir are judged more than fortuitous, one is encouraged to consider briefly one more 'file' from medieval European legendary history, that of the Welsh warrior Gwalchmai, the antecedent of the better known Gauvain/Gawain of Arthurian romance. The most archaic body of evidence for Gwalchmai is found in the Welsh *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (*Triads of the Island of Britain*). In Triad 4, Gwalchmai is called one of the three

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well-endowed men of Britain. *Deifnyawc* 'important, well-endowed, wealthy, substantial' is related to *defnydd* 'material, substance' and has as an Irish cognate *damnae* used of individuals who are qualified to fill a specific role, e.g., *rígdamnae* 'makings of a king'. Information on Gwalchmai's role is found in triad 75, devoted to the three men most courteous to strangers and guests. As well as Gwalchmai, it lists Cadrieith, whose name can be interpreted as 'Fine-Speech'. Gwalchmai, identified in other legendary lore as Arthur's sister's son, is given the epithet *dafod aur* 'of the golden tongue'. A late medieval text names him among three golden-tongued heroes, claiming that all lords listened to them and they obtained their every request (*Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, Appendix IV). In *Culhwch ac Olwen* (15) it is stated that Gwalchmai never returned home with his mission unaccomplished. In the Welsh romances Gwalchmai is seen resolving contentions between Arthur and his knights, more through conciliatory speech than through force of arms. Despite the later development of the Gawain figure, the earliest conception of Arthur's nephew and his function then seems very close to that of the well-spoken peace-maker Sencha at Conchobar's court. We may also note the relational parallels in the three bodies of evidence: supreme god and secondary god, king and courtier-confidant, kingly uncle and warrior nephew (of the important sister's son kind).

In the name *Gwalchmai* commentators have seen Welsh *gwalch* 'hawk', often used of heroes, but the second element has proved troublesome. Bromwich reviewed the evidence for seeing a reference to the month of May or to a plain (*-ma*), but called attention to the inexplicable lack of lenition of the initial consonant of the second element. Rowlands proposed a derivation from a Welsh cognate of Irish *smech* 'chin' with a meaning such as 'Hawk-Beak'. As in the above proposal for Hœnir, this interpretation would yield both avian and vocal associations, if, on the basis of other references to eloquence, we are to see in 'beak' a suggestion of the bird's cry rather than predatory habits. More recently, Jenkins convincingly argues that *gwalch* was used of the goshawk, not the falcon, thus offering a tenuous connection to the aquatic birds considered above. The etymology of *gwalch* is no less problematic than that of other terms here under review. Jenkins explores three options: a derivation from I-E **u̯el-* 'see' (Pokorny's sense 1) or 'rip, rob' (Pokorny's sense 8), and **u̯l̥-q** dissimilated to **u̯l̥-k-*. Related, then, to OIr. *olc* 'bad', the general meaning in this last derivation would be 'predator'. It would, however,

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be hazardous to bring any of the evidence for the role of Gwalchmai or prophetic avian spokesmen to bear on this question.

The function of similes and analogies is to bring us with a clearer eye and wider frame of reference back to our original object of concern. No greater role for the Irish Sencha or Welsh Gwalchmai is claimed in this note, although the evidence for the cultural isogloss earlier alluded to is more than slight. OIr. *sennid* 'sounds' derives from a root distinct from, but perhaps not semantically unrelated to, I-E **kan-* 'sing, chant (prophesy?)'. But the functional similarities between Sencha and Hœnir and degree of semantic consonance in roots proposed for the names, while suggestive, do not warrant the assumption of an Indo-European god of communication and mediation. The more modest goal of this exercise has been to renew etymological speculation on the theonym *Hœnir* with a fresh look at one of the options so profitably reviewed by Polomé.

Having reviewed the slanderer and promoter of dissension, and the truth-speaker and peace-maker, one may in closing call attention to yet another spokesman function in the early medieval European world, whom we might call the interpellator. His 'calling out' function is activated when the outsider crosses the societal boundary, as the watchman on the territorial border (Connall Cernach in Cú Chulainn's *Macgnímratha* [*Boyhood Deeds*], the Danish coastguard in *Beowulf*), doorkeeper to the royal banquet hall (Kei in *Culhwch ac Olwen*), or courtier before the king's dais (Unferþ in *Beowulf*). In the world of the epic, this confrontation, as well as formally preceding the incorporation of new potency in the society, often provides the occasion for the verbal self-validation of the hero, the words about past deeds that will commit him to future deeds, according to the dictates and dynamic of lasting honour. (Connall Cernach in Cú Chulainn's Macgnimratha [*Boyhood Deeds*], .

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Apollo the Wolf-god

Daniel E. Gershenson

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The Use of Family Names in the Study of Human Migration During the Last Two Centuries

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Family names listed in telephone book were used to trace the regional origins of Italians who emigrated to Toronto, Canada. To date, only three regions (Tuscany, Abruzzi, and Campania) have been considered. This study indicates that the greatest flow of migration to Toronto has come from Campania. This approach appears to be capable of providing more detailed data concerning immigration than is customarily found.

A characteristic of human populations is the continual experimentation with and invasion of new ecological niches. This impetus towards territorial exploration, together with an adaptability to different human environments, characterizes the migrations of many populations in both prehistoric and historic times. Economic needs customarily, though not always, supply the impetus. But while many anthropologists like to classify whole populations as either sedentary or migrant, it is often only the younger males and females, and sometimes only the young males, who migrate. The success of migration depends not only on the genetic adaptability of the migrant population to its new ecological niche but also to the interaction between the migrating and the indigenous population; the examples of the Romans and of the Vikings represent well known significant conflicts and cultural adaptations which migration can cause.

Migrations often lead to varying degrees of conflict between the incoming and native populations due to cultural differences which are always exacerbated by presumptions of superiority by both groups, in addition to competition for local resources in the struggle for survival. In studying migration it is not enough to chronicle the population movements themselves; it is also important to consider the numbers of people involved, and their age, sex, and social characteristics.

The reconstruction of historical events requires quantitative and qualitative evaluation to be useful and meaningful. Among human migrations to different territories, those from Europe to America are

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particularly important because of the great number of people involved. The subject is of particular interest in view of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America for the Western European world, and studies relating to this migration should therefore be of particular interest at the present time.

I became aware some time ago that it is possible to use the incidence of family names in telephone directories for the investigation of emigration from Italy and of population movements within Italy (Chiarelli 1987).

According to the work by De Felice (1980) on the distribution of family names in telephone directories in Italy, names such as Conti, De Luca, Ferri, Mancini, Ricci, and Rossi, are distributed over the whole country. However, the distribution is not always uniform. De Luca and Romano are more common in the South and occur with high frequency in Campania and Abruzzo while in Tuscany they appear very infrequently. This would suggest that the incidence of these names in an area other than the area of origin is probably the result of recent internal migration. Romano, Napolitano and Sorrentino are typical local family names which reflect the place of origin, as are also D'Ancona ("From Ancona") and Dalla Costa ("From the Coast").

The presence of such names in locations other than those suggested by the name suggests that migration occurred. We may call such migration "historic" if it took place long ago. Such is the case with the family name Lombardi (and also Lombardo) which is today quite common in both Campania and Tuscany. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance this name was associated with persons of Northern Italian origin and with certain professions, namely commerce, banking and usury. Thus the occurrence of this name in Central and Southern Italy would suggest a centuries-old migration.

Other family names that are relatively common in the regions of Tuscany and Campania might indicate relatively recent migrations between these two regions. Such family names as Carbone, Russo and Santoro certainly are of Campanian origin and their presence in Tuscany indicates population movements from Campania to Tuscany. Moreover, some family names, such as Bacci, Berti, Galli, Pacini in Tuscany; Aiello, Amato, Garofalo in Campania; and Di Francesco, Di Gregorio, Di Marco in Abruzzo, are common names but ones which are heavily localized in specific regions.

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FIGURE 1: Quantitative indices of the immigration of Italians from Tuscany and Abruzzo to Toronto (Canada).

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De Felice reports that out of the 226 most common family names at the national level in Italy (i.e. names that appear more than 3,000 times), those that are dispersed around the country represent slightly more than 1/3 of the total, while the distribution of the others is limited to individual regions. This high degree of localization can be traced to the relatively recent history of the unification of Italy, a country which until 1870 consisted of different states, each with a different political system and administration and each with its own distinctive cultural and linguistic history. The process of formation of family names, of their adoption and subsequent distribution depended directly on historical factors associated with their places of origin.

TABLE 1: Incidence of Italian family names in the telephone directory of Toronto, Canada.

	N. totale di cognomi dell'elenco di Toronto che cominciano per A, B, ecc.	N. totale di cognomi di utenti italiani a Toronto che cominciano per A, B, ecc.	%
A	25.400	1.696	6,67
B	67.600	4.239	6,27
C	67.200	3.107	4,62
D	40.300	5.689	14,10
E	13.400	178	1,32
F	28.800	2.503	8,69
G	40.300	2.900	7,19
H	44.640	–	–
I	7.780	842	10,96
J	9.270	–	–
K	29.760	–	–
L	36.000	1.864	5,17
M	83.500	4.193	5,02
N	14.850	514	3,46
O	11.000	143	1,3
P	41.750	3.826	9,16
Q	950	136	14,31
R	37.400	3.047	8,14
S	74.400	4.402	5,91
T	30.200	1.917	6,34
U	2.400	44	1,83
V	10.550	1.882	17,83
W	38.800	–	–
X	120	–	–
Y	4.800	–	–
Z	4.300	641	14,90

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TABLE 2: Italian family names in the Toronto telephone directory, that appear more than 60 times.

Totale utenti: 794.450					Totale residenti: 2.831.106
Abate	60	De Francesco	63	Miranda	88
Adamo	67	De Luca	182	Monaco	65
Aiello	64	De Marco	75	Morra	154
Albanese	68	Demelo	88	Naccarato	84
Amato	74	De Sanctis	72	Natale	68
Barbosa	60	Di Carlo	67	Palermo	88
Barone	74	Di Marco	75	Pallotta	90
Battaglia	61	Franco	78	Palumbo	67
Bellissimo	78	Ferrari(a)(o)	84	Perri	101
Bernardo	62	Ferri	60	Pileggi	60
Bianchi	94	Fiore	64	Raposo	99
Bruno	157	Galati	135	Rea	100
Calderone	66	Gallo(i)	122	Ricci	162
Camilleri	91	Giordano	68	Rizzo	74
Caputo	65	Greco	217	Romano	185
Carbone	61	Grossi	105	Rosa	85
Caruso	142	Lamanna	94	Rossi	135
Castro	65	Leo	66	Ruffolo	60
Colangelo	111	Leone	74	Russo	118
Conte	80	Liscio	68	Salerno	71
Cornacchia	88	Lombardi(o)	139	Silva	483
Cosentino	93	Longo	108	Simone	138
Costa	301	Macri	83	Tavares	155
Costello	78	Malone	98	Tersigni	94
Da Costa	164	Mancini	95	Valente(i)	80
D'Agostino	60	Mancuso	68	Vella	124
D'Alessandro	69	Marchese	109	Ventura	61
D'Amico	66	Marino	93	Vitale	63
D'Andrea	61	Martino	142	Volpe	125
D'Angelo(a)	184	Melo	200		
Da Silva	462	Miceli	60		

TABLE 3: Total number of residents and telephone subscribers of the three regions considered (Firenze, Napoli, Pescara)

	REGIONE (città capoluogo di prov. più province)		CITTÀ CAPOLUOGO DI PROV. (escluse le province)	
	residenti	utenti	residenti	utenti
TOSCANA	3.595.000	749.241	1.220.784	421.894
CAMPANIA	5.409.000	727.927	1.574.330	379.074
ABRUZZO	1.223.000	148.604	312.611	93.595

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The following is an analysis, based on the above premises, of some data on the Italian migration to Toronto (Canada).

Italian Migration to Toronto

In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Italian emigration reached enormous proportions. It caused socio-economic and cultural repercussions in Southern Italy which are still being felt. Many communities in Southern Italy lost their most active labor force, and this depletion caused the economic depression from which the South of our country has not yet recovered. Thus, out of the total estimated population of the South between 1861 and 1911, of about 15 million, about one-third (5 million) emigrated. In the host countries the immigrants had problems with cultural and ethnic adjustment. It is, therefore, of interest to anthropology, demography and ethnology to trace the origins and quantify the sizes and tides of migration.

Telephone directories can, first of all, provide rough quantitative estimates, such as the number of family names of specific origin as compared with the total number of listings. Further, it is possible to estimate to varying degrees of certainty the origin of some families bearing these names. As we have indicated, in Italy, as in most countries, certain names are typical of specific regions. "Pautasso" is certainly from the Piedmont just as "Brambilla" is typically from Lombardia, "Esposito" from Campania and "Puddu" and "Cosseddu" from Sardinia.

A comparison between Italian family names listed in telephone directories of a North American city with those listed in different Italian regions, may render information on the origin of migration.

In Toronto in 1973 the total number of Italian surnames was 43,763 out of a total of 795,000, that is, 5.5%.

Table 1 gives the cumulative data in alphabetical order. The highest percentages of Italian names start with the letter D (14.10%), I (10.96%), Q (15.35%), V (17.83%) and Z (14.90%).

Table 2 shows those Italian family names in the Toronto telephone directory that appear more than 60 times.

We selected three regions of Italy: Abruzzo, Campania and Tuscany for comparison.

Table 3 shows the number of residents and telephone users in the three regions and in their capital cities in 1978.

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TABLE 4: Italian family names, listed in the Toronto telephone directory more than 60 times, compared with their incidence in the telephone directories of Pescara (A), Napoli (C), and Florence (T).

	A	C	T		A	C	T		A	C	T
Abate	–	206	–	De Francesco	–	117	–	Miranda	–	152	–
Adamo	–	241	–	De Luca	124	1311	110	Monaco	–	341	–
Aiello	–	340	–	De Marco	–	254	–	Morra	–	479	–
Albanese	–	136	–	Demelo	–	–	–	Naccarato	–	–	–
Amato	–	876	73	De Sanctis	74	308	–	Natale	–	336	–
Barbosa	–	–	–	Di Carlo	116	–	–	Palermo	–	143	–
Barone	40	467	91	Di Marco	148	–	–	Pallotta	–	–	–
Battaglia	–	116	–	Franco	–	–	–	Palumbo	68	726	–
Bellissimo	–	–	–	Ferrari(a)(o)	–	1286	73	Petri	–	–	–
Bernardo	–	127	–	Ferri	86	96	–	Pileggi	–	–	–
Bianchi	–	714	1335	Fiore	–	485	–	Raposo	–	–	–
Bruno	43	652	507	Galati	–	–	–	Rea	–	–	–
Calderone	–	–	–	Gallo(i)	–	737	739	Ricci	176	256	1175
Camilleri	–	–	–	Giordano	–	–	–	Rizzo	–	281	–
Caputo	–	473	–	Greco	–	–	–	Romano	106	1792	119
Carbone	–	468	48	Grossi	–	–	–	Rosa	–	–	–
Caruso	–	521	61	Lamanna	–	–	–	Rossi	145	–	2295
Castro	–	–	–	Leo	–	–	–	Ruffolo	–	–	–
Colangelo	–	–	–	Leone	73	475	–	Russo	–	3613	228
Conte	40	606	885	Liscio	–	–	–	Salerno	–	178	–
Cornacchia	–	–	–	Lombardi(o)	–	696	560	Silva	–	–	–
Cosentino	–	146	–	Longo	–	230	–	Simone	–	–	–
Costa	–	201	226	Macri	–	–	–	Tavares	–	–	–
Costello	–	–	–	Malone	–	210	–	Tersigni	–	–	–
Da Costa	–	–	–	Mancini	–	285	–	Valente(i)	–	148	138
D'Agostino	80	375	–	Mancuso	–	–	–	Vella	–	–	–
D'Alessandro	110	361	–	Marchese	–	–	–	Ventura	–	–	–
D'Amico	38	206	–	Marino	–	1092	–	Vitale	–	638	–
D'Andrea	67	295	–	Martino	–	306	–	Volpe	–	410	–
D'Angelo(a)	169	715	–	Melo	–	525	–				
Da Silva	–	–	–	Miceli	–	–	–	Total	18	51	17

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Table 4 shows the incidence in the three regional capitals of Italian family names listed in Toronto.

At least 35 family names of Toronto residents, presumably of Italian origin, are not found in our three selected regions (Barbasa, Bellissimo, Calderone, Camilleri, Colangelo, Cornacchia, Costello, De Costa, Da Silva, Damelio, Franco etc.).

This would indicate either that some of these names are not Italian in origin (Da Silva, Castro etc.) or that a more extensive inquiry would provide evidence for concentrations in Toronto of Italian immigrants from other regions of Italy (Miceli, for example, is a common family name in Sicily and Calabria, and Grossi in Northern Italy).

Of more interest in Table 4, however, is the incidence in the three regions of family names that are listed in the Toronto directory: Abruzzo - 18, Campania - 51, Tuscany - 17.

Campania appears to have contributed about three times as many family names to Toronto as have the other regions. Moreover, if we take the Florence telephone book alone, not one of the 17 names is typical of Tuscany: 16 are from Campania and one from Abruzzi. Campania by itself contributes 26 names to the Toronto telephone directory.

Thus, the greatest migration of Italian family names to Toronto appears to have come from Campania, followed by Abruzzi. Campania's contribution is seen not only in the incidence of family names but also in the number of entries. There are 2,274 entries of Campanian family names, 142 Abruzian and none typically Tuscan.

Our simple method may prove useful and reliable for the historical reconstruction of recent migration tides of European populations.

Some of my colleagues are currently expanding this research to other regions of Italy and other North American cities.

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Explanations in the Contact Between Altaic and Tokharian[1]

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This paper is of interest since the Indo-European Tokharian speakers must have been in geographical contact with Altaic speakers. It aims to document evidence of the contacts between the Altaic and Tokharian languages by demonstrating possible loan correspondences. The paper is particularly concerned with the origin of the ethnonyms 'Twγry' and 'Yüeh-chih' and their relationship. In Archaic Chinese, 'Yüeh-chih' (pronounced *nüdi*) appears to be directly related to Tokharian *lyutan* 'country', Old Saxon *liudi*, 'people' and Kitan *lüjin/nüjin* < **lüdi* 'the Jurchens'. The ethnonym 'Twγry' derived from Tokharina *tukri* 'soil'. Obviously, 'Twγry' derived from Tokharian *tukri* 'soil'. Obviously, 'Twγry' was a toponym, whereas *nüdi* 'Yüeh-chih' was an ethnonym. It can be argued that Jurchen and Mongolian once formed part of the Yüeh-chih people.

1. Introduction

Written sources and excavations provided irrefutable proof of the physical presence of Indo-European-speaking peoples in Inner Asia. Thus, Inner Asia was precisely the area where contact between Altaic and IE took place. However, few scholars have explored the concrete historical possibilities whereby numerous IE words were naturalized in Altaic languages. In this paper I will illustrate the contacts between Altaic and Tokharian as well as some other IE languages.

In my previous research I produced a number of examples demonstrating possible loan correspondences between Altaic and Tokharian in the course of their contact (see Wang 1990a-b, 1991a), namely: (a) IE sibilants and other obstruents were borrowed as liquids in some Altaic languages in the environment V__C, and as alveolar stops (or affricates) elsewhere; (b) In Altaic, liquids *r/l* might change to nasals *m, n*, and *ŋ* depending on the articulatory position of following

[1] This paper is the revised version of a paper read at the Fourth Annual Indo-European Conference, University of California, Los Angeles, May 21-23, 1992.

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consonants; (c) Some Altaic borrowings preserved the initial consonant which disappeared or weakened in the IE languages; (d) IE *l* was rendered as *n* in some Altaic languages. In addition, Mongolian and Tungusic sometimes have suffixes which may be absent in IE and OT.[2] The following examples will illustrate these important phenomena:

(1) ToB. *niṣke* 'breast jewelry'
Dag. *nirgës* 'pearl, grain'
Ma. *nicuhe* < **nicke* < **niske*, Jur *nijuhe/nicu* 'pearl'

In (1) the ToB sibilant ṣ occurring in the environment V__C was rendered as *r* in Dagur on the one hand and as *c/j* in Manchu and Jurchen on the other hand.

(2) ToA. *saku* < **sasku*, ToB *sekwe* 'grease, fat'
Dag. *targun*, Dongxiang *tayun* 'fat'
Ma. *targu:/tarhu:n*, Jur *tayun* 'fat'

Van Windekens (1941:112) failed to give an etymological explanation of the Tokharian words in (2). Adams (1988:37) glossed the Tokharian words 'pus', connecting them with IE **sok^{w}os*, Grk *opós* 'sap' and Albanian *gjak* 'blood'. However, the Tokharian words can be best explained from the Altaic standpoint, both on semantic and phonetic grounds. From a phonetic point of view, it is not surprising that **s* disappeared in some Tokharian terms, for instance, ToB *yak-* < *yask-* coexists with ToAB *yask-* 'to ask for', and ToAB *āk-* (ToB *ak-*) 'to travel, journey' comes from **āsk-* (cf. ToAB *wāsk-* below). On the Altaic side, the liquid *r* is missing in the word *tayun* in Dongxiang and Jurchen.

(3) ToAB. *wāsk-* 'to move'. OE *wealcan* 'to roll, toss; to move about, journey, go'. ME *walken*, German *walken*
OT. *mayŋ-/bayŋ-* < **mayk-* < **walk-* 'to walk', *mah* 'step, run, gait'

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[2] The following unfamiliar abbreviations are used below: Dag. Dagur, Evk. Evenki, Jur. Jurchen, Kaz. Kazakh, Kit. Kitan, Ma. Manchu, MMo. Middle Mongolian, OT. Old Turkic, OUi. Old Uigur, ToA/B. Tokharian A/B, WMo. Written Mongolian. The following adaptations in transcription are accepted: (a) The colon : stands for long vowel; (b) *ï* and *ë* are the back vowels corresponding to *i* and *e*; (c) The WMo symbols *q* and *g* occurring before or after back vowels are transcribed as *k* and *g* respectively.

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WMo. *alku-* < **walku-* 'to walk', *alku* 'step, pace'
Ma. *yafahala-* < **yafka+la-* < **yaska-* 'to walk, go by foot', *yafagan/yafahan* 'pedestrian, on foot'. WMo *yabugan* < **yafagan* 'on foot', *yabu-* 'to go, walk', Ma *yabu-* 'to go, walk'

It is generally accepted that English *walk* derived from IE **walg-*. But this explanation might be challenged on the grounds that **walg-* represents a development from the underlying form of ToAB *wāsk-* through lambdacism arisen, probably, under the influence of the Altaic languages. It should be noted that ToA *w* corresponds to ToB *y* in many instances, especially in initial position (see Lane 1945:37), for example, ToA *wärkänt*, ToB *yerkwant* 'wheel'; ToA *want*, ToB *yente* 'wind'; ToAB *wätk-*. ToB *watk-/yaitk-* 'to command'. In this sense, Manchu *yafahala-*, from which WMo *yabu-* derived, probably came from unattested ToB **yask-*. The Tokharian sibilant was rendered as *c/j* in Manchu and Jurchen in (1), but as *f* in (3), making the occurrence of phonemes in the given position unpredictable.

In OT, simplification of the cluster *ŋk/ŋg into *ŋ* is not unusual, many examples can be cited to support it (see Wang 1991a). Here I will give only one more example in (4):

(4) Lat. *mílle* 'a thousand'
ToA. *wälts* < **mil+ts*, ToB *yältse/yiltse/yaltse* 'a thousand'
WMo. *minggan* < **mil+gan*, Ma minggan 'a thousand'
OT. *miŋ/biŋ* < **miŋgan* 'a thousand'

We see that in (3) and (4) the OT *ŋ* can be legitimately traced back to the liquid **l*. It is the case with the nasal *n* of MMo *höndür* in (5), which developed from the liquid **r*.

(5) ToA. *orto* 'up'. Grk *orthós* 'upright'
MMo. *höndür* < **hördür*, Dag *hundur* 'high'
Ma. *undu* 'vertical, upright'
(6) Lat. *lupus*, Grk *lúkos* 'wolf'
WMo. *nokai*, Dag nog 'dog'. East Yugur *lögjën* 'female dog'

Once we are aware how significant these major loan correspondences are, we will have solid grounds for dealing with the substantial IE influence on the Altaic languages.

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2. The origin of the ethnonyms yüeh-chih and twγry

In this section my attention is directed toward a linguistic analysis of the origin of the ethnonyms Yüeh-chih and Twγry, and further, toward an etymological connection of Yüeh-chih with *Nüjin* 'the Jurchens (the predecessor of Manchu)'.

Even though scholars equate the Tokharian and Yüeh-chih people, the significance of nomenclature and the relationship between the two names of these people have only been studied to a limited extent. In dealing with this problem, we should first note that the ethnonym Yüeh-chih is an incorrect transliteration of the two Chinese characters *yue* (yüeh) and *shi* (chih). As an ethnonym, these two Chinese characters are at present pronounced as *rouzhi*. Moreover, in Archaic Chinese, the initial consonants of the two characters are reconstructed as **n* and **d* respectively. Thus, simplifying the other details, we have an archaic pronunciation of *Nüdi* for the ethnonym 'Yüeh-chih'. Relevant at this point is Narain's (1990:155) observation that Yüeh-chih has the earlier forms of Yü-chih, Nu-shih (or chih) and Yü-shih.

In their historical practice of coining ethnonyms, the Altaic peoples tended to use the word for 'people' to denote ethnic groups. Upon close examination, the nomenclature of Nüdi 'Yüeh-chih' was directly related to the following European and Altaic words denoting the concept of 'people' and 'country', considering the change of *l* to *n*:

(7) ToA. *lyutan* 'country, region'
OE. *lēod*, ME *lēde*, OS *liudi*, OHG *liuti*, Russian *ljudi* 'people'
Kit. *Lüjin/Nüjin* < **lüdi* 'the Jurchen people'. Hexi[3] *lüda* 'foreign country, foreigner'
Jur. *jušin* 'people, ordinary people'

Ancient Chinese annals recorded the terms *Lüjin, Nüjin,* and *Jujin* as variants of the ethnonym for the Jurchens. Obviously, there is correspondence among *l, n,* and *j* in this ethnonym because of dialectal diversities in pronunciation.

The name *Twγry* can also be understood from the following

[3] *Hexi* is the name of a language recorded in Chinese characters in *Hexi Yi Yu* 'Hexi-Chinese Glossary', which seems to belong to the Chinese-Barbarian glossary series compiled during China's Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). This material is accessible to us through the appendix to Chen's (1982) paper.

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Tokharian and Altaic words:

(8) ToA. *tukri* 'heavy soil'
OUi. *Twγry* /tugrï/ 'Tokharian'. Uigur *toprak* 'soil'
Evk. *tuka* 'sand'. Solon *tokolá* 'land'. Negidal *tohola (tokola)* 'refuse; land'
WMo. *togurag/tobrag/tobarag* 'dust, ground'

ToA tukri 'heavy soil' is phonetically similar to the Old Uigur ethnonym Twγry 'Tokharian'. Based on the semantic characteristics of *'Lüjin/Nüjin'* in (7), which mainly denotes 'people, country', and of 'Twγry' in (8), which denotes 'soil, sand, land', I will argue that Twγry 'Tokharian' is primarily a toponym, whereas *Nüdi* 'Yüeh-chih' is an ethnonym. The ToA *tukri* originally referred to the surrounding sand(s), and subsequently penetrated into the neighboring languages. Eventually, this word evolved into a place name or state name. Since the Yüeh-chih people existed in that area, they were naturally given the name 'Tu-huo-lo' in the Chinese annals.

It should be noted that in the Chinese annals, Tu-huo-lo is sometimes used in combination with the Chinese word *guo* 'state' (i.e. 'Tokharian State'), while Yüeh-chih refers to an ethnic group. Moreover, as an ethnic group, the Yüeh-chih people were divided into two groups: the Great Yüeh-chih and the Little Yüeh-chih. On the contrary, as a state or a region, Tu-huo-lo 'Tokharian' was treated holistically, without division into 'great' and 'little' sections. Equally important are the related records in Chinese annals of the existence of *Nüjin* 'the Jurchens' in North-East China (Manchuria), during the tenth-thirteenth centuries (see *Nüzhen zhuan* 1986:584-585). The *Nüjin* people were also dichotomized into the 'Civilized *Nüjin*' and the 'Uncivilized *Nüjin*'. As shown in (7), *Nüjin* is a variant of Yüeh-chih. It appears that the dichotomy of the Yüeh-chih people and that of the *Nüjin* people are essentially similar if the dichotomy is explained by the social advancement of the two groups. Anyway, this similarity is not coincidental.

Much attention has been paid to the Great Yüeh-chih's move to west (known as Twγry) in 174-161 B.C., from the area between the Qilian (Ch'i-lien) mountains and Dunhuang (Tun-huang, which is situated in today's Gansu Province). But what happened to the Little Yüeh-chih who remained behind? Scattered evidence from Chinese annals suggests that *Nüjin* (Yüeh-chih) existed to the west of the Yellow

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River and subsequently moved far away to the east. *Qidan guo zhi* (1985:246-247) observed that:

> The yellow-head *Nüjin* are called *Hosgon* that are also found to the west of the Yellow River. The people are so brave that make no distinction between life and death. They have yellow hair, dark eyes with abundant green color and also yellow eyes with abundant white color.

Nüzhen zhuan (1986:584) maintained that the so-called 'Civilized *Nüjin*' in North-East (Manchuria) were in fact *Hosgon*,[4] giving a similar description of their race and appearance. Liao shi (1974:1539) recorded that Hosgon was a Nüjin tribe. From these two Chinese chronicle sources it clearly appears the people existing to the west of the Yellow River and that those existing in Manchuria had the same alternative ethnonyms 'yellow-head Nüjin' and 'Hosgon', and furthermore, that they showed the same racial features. It should be noted that the racial description by Chinese annalists in itself indicated that the people differed ethnically from the Chinese. In my view, the so-called Little Yüeh-chih eventually migrated to Manchuria and became assimilated to the indigenous people. On the other hand, some Yüeh-chihs still stayed behind to the west of the Yellow River and became known as *Hexi*, whose language is fragmentarily recorded in Chinese characters during China's Ming Dynasty.

A recent excavation shows that close contact existed between the Caucasian and Mongolian peoples in the western part of China as early as three thousand years ago. Chinese archaeologists unearthed an ancient grave in Xinjiang and identified two remains in the grave belonging to Caucasoid and Mongoloid peoples respectively.[5] Thus, there is a good reason to believe that the Yüeh-chih people were not a homogeneous race and that Jurchen (*Nüjin*) and Mongolian once formed a part of the Yüeh-chih group under the name of the Little Yüeh-chih. That is why the Jurchen people were called *Nüjin/Lüjin*.

The toponym Tu-huo-lo 'Tokharian' in the Chinese annals is similar to those appearing in the contemporary Sanskrit and Greek written records: Skt *Tukhára*, Grk *Tókharoi*. However, the ethnonym

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[4] *hosgon* is a Kitan word meaning 'yellow, reddish' (see Wang 1990b).

[5] See *Renmin Ribao: Haiwai Ban (People's Daily: Overseas Edition)*, Section 4, September 20, 1991.

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of *Nüdi/Lüdi* 'Yüeh-chih' has not been found in western literature, though it derived from the European word for 'people' see (7). The following hypothesis may offer an explanation: an ancient Altaic (perhaps Mongolian) tribe borrowed the word **lüdi* 'people' from an Indo-European language and initiated the nomenclature of *Lüjin/Nüjin*, and then the Indo-European peoples also used this name. Gradually, the ancient people became accustomed to assign the ordinary word for 'people' to an ethnic group, being unaware of its ethnonym status.

3. Vocabulary diffusion

The physical presence of IE-speaking peoples in Inner Asia was certainly a constant source of IE vocabulary diffusion into this area. On the other hand, in view of the well-known cultural contacts resulting from Buddhistic, Nestorian, and Christian involvement in Inner Asia and the transcontinental Silk Road, one could assume that vocabulary diffusion frequently occurred among genetically unrelated languages. In this section I will be concerned with the penetration into Altaic languages of Tokharian elements as well as IE terms attested in Old English or Latin.

(9) ToB. *kärk(k)alle*, ToA *kärtkal* 'spring, pond'. Lat *gurges* 'whirlpool, gulf; stream, sea'
MMo. *korkan (korokan)*, Dag *huarg* 'small stream, small river'
Ma. *hu:rgiku*: 'whirlpool, vortex, eddy'

(10) ToB. *kälsamñe* 'patience'
MMo. *gülice-*, WMo *küliye-*, Dag *kulcë-* 'to wait (for)'
OT. *kü:d-* < **küld-* 'to wait (for)'. Azerbaijani *küd-* 'to lie in wait for'

(11) ToAB. *kätk-* 'to move, cross over'
OT. *két-*, Turkish git- 'to go'
WMo. *kisa-* 'to press' (presumably developed from 'to trample, go'). Dag *gidaś-* < **gisa-* 'to oppress'
Ma. *gida-* 'to press, crush, roll flat'

(12) ToB. *koly(i)* 'horsehair, hair, fur'
OT. *kïl* 'hair, especially a horse hair or bristle'
WMo. *kilgasun*, Dag *kilgas* 'horse's mane or tail-hair'
Ma. *funggala* < **fulgala* 'tail feather, feather in an official's hat', *funggaha* 'feather, down'.

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(13) ToB. *okso* < **hokso* 'bull, ox'. Skt *ukṣā́* 'bull, ox'. OE *oxa*, OS *ohso*, OHG *ohso*, Gothic *aúhsa* 'ox'
Ma. *okson* 'step, pace, the gait of horse; measure of earth (big step, including two usual steps)', *okso-* 'to step, go step by step'
Dag. *ërgël* < **esko* < **okso* 'bull'

The Germanic words for 'ox' are reconstructed as **uksōn* and further assumed to be developed from IE **uksṓn*. However, in my opinion, the words in (13) may be treated in combination with the following words for 'horse' in (14).

(14) ToA. *yuk* < **hokso* < **kokso*, ToB *yakwe* 'horse'. designating a 'castrated bovine.' Perhaps also OE *hors*, OS hros, OHG hros/ros, MHG ros 'horse' < **hrussa*.
MMo. *hüker* < *hük+er*, WMo *üker*, Dag *hukur* 'ox'
Ma. *feksin* < **heksin* 'gallop', *feksi-* 'to gallop', *feri* < **hersi* < **heksi* 'horse'
Hexi *ros* 'horse'
OT. *öküz* 'ox'

In the agricultural period before machinery was introduced, horse and ox are both universally used for farmwork and transportation. Although the native country of the horse and ox and the period of their subjection to man are unknown, Inner Asia was once an important center for the breeding and usage of horses and oxen. The success of many powerful nomadic peoples in Inner Asia was largely dependent on their cavalry and horse and ox-drawn chariots. This historical background provided wonderful opportunity for the words for 'horse' and 'ox' to be spread outward from Inner Asia.

Clauson (1956:186) argued that OT *öküz* 'ox' was from the synonymous ToB word *okso*. But I prefer to derive OT *öküz* (*ök+üz*) from ToA *yuk*. Presumably, Manchu *okson* in (13) originally meant 'horse' and subsequently meant 'the gait of horse'.

The relevant IE word for 'horse' is recontructed as **kers-/kors-*. Related to the words in (13) are ToB kaurse and ToA kayurs 'bull', *ko* 'cow', which can be reconstructed as **kokso/kaukso*. Significantly, a serious initial erosion took place in OHG and Hexi. On the contrary, WMo *morin* 'horse' developed from an earlier form **or+in* through an initial epenthesis. To account for this epenthesis, I will give three

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more examples in (15), (16), and (17):

(15) ToB. *auk* 'snake'
WMo. *mogai*, Dag *mog* 'snake'

(16) ToA. *olyik* < **olk*, ToB *olyi* 'boat'
MMo. *onggaca* < **olgaca* 'water trough, boat'. WMo *onggoca* 'boat'
Jur. *mulhur* 'trough, manger'
Dag. *moŋgo* 'water trough'. Solon *moŋgo*, Orochi *moŋgo* 'boat'

(17) ToB. *aik(a)re*, ToA *ekro* 'ill, sick person'
Dag. *maig* 'crippled', *mai-* 'to wither'
Ma. *maigu* 'deaf'

What is shown in these examples is that the epenthesis of bilabial nasal *m* took place in some Altaic languages probably through an intermediary stage of **w*. Lane (1938:8) pointed out that there are several cases where ToB *au* corresponds to ToA *o*, for instance, ToB *auk-*, ToA *oks-* 'to grow'. From this observation, we can assume that WMo *mogai* 'snake' was from unattested ToA **ok* 'snake'.

Thus, the prototype word for 'horse' and 'ox' in (13) and (14) originally denoted either of the two domestic animals, and subsequently diffused geographically primarily through initial and final erosions, rhotacism, and initial epenthesis. Eventually, the resultant variants separated lexically, denoting specific animals.

(18) ToA. *oṅkrac* 'immortal'
WMo. *onggon*, Dag *oŋgor* 'pure, sacred, the spirit inhabiting a material object'. MMo *ongkun* 'god'
Evk. *ongun/ëngun* 'tabooed deer'

In Dagur the word *oŋgor* is usually connected with *yädgën* 'shaman' and sama 'shaman', who are given or gained *oŋgor* and who can use their ohgor to cure inexplainable or unidentified disease and bless or hurt people. Thus, the Dagur *oŋgor* is a central concept of shamanism, which is a primitive belief among some Altaic peoples. Note that the ToA *oṅkrac* perhaps derived from the ToA base *oṅk* 'person'.

(19) ToB. *oṅkorño* 'boiled (*bouillie*)'.
MMo. *hunkasun* 'wind, gas'. Dag *hoŋg-* 'to fart', *hoŋgus* 'fart'. WMo *unggasu* 'fart'

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Ma. *honggono-* 'to form bubbles, form small bells'

(20) ToAB. *pärk-* < **päsk-* 'to pray, ask'. Lat *poscō* 'to beg, demand, request'
MMo. *mürgü-*, WMo *mörgü-*, Dag *murg-* < **burg-* 'to pray by kowtowing, kowtow, bow'
Hexi *bäŋhu-* < **bärhu-* 'to bow'
Ma. *fonji-* < **forgi-*, Jur *funi-* 'to ask'

(21) ToA. *puskāñ* 'sinew, nerve'. CF. Lat musculus 'muscle'.
Dag. *bulgi* 'sinew', *muŋgi* < **mulgi* 'sinew'

(22) ToA. *sark*, ToB *serke* 'generation, garland'
Ma. *jergi* 'rank'
Dag. *jërg* 'rank', *jiŋgiä* < **jirgiä* 'string knot'

(23) ToA. *ṣātär* < **sastär* 'weak, slack'
Dag. *sa:ta-*, WMo. *sagata-* < **sagta-* < **sasta-* 'to delay, slack'
Ma. *sarta-* 'to delay, postpone, to act at one's leisure', *sartashu:n* 'slow, delayed'

(24) ToA. *tiri* 'make, way, manner'
WMo. *düri*, Dag *dur* 'appearance, way, manner'
Ma. *durun*, Dag *durun* 'form, shape; model; rule'. Ma *turu* 'example'

In addition to those in (24), WMo *cirai* < **tirai* 'face' and OT *teri*: 'the skin, hide (of a human being or animal)' might be added, since the meaning of 'face, skin' is compatible with that of 'make, appearance'.

(25) ToA. *wles-* 'to practice, work'
WMo. *üile* 'deed, work', *üiled-* 'to make, create'. Dag *wëil* 'work', *wëill-/wëild-* 'to work'

(26) MMo. *ba'urcin* < **bagur+cin* 'cook, baker'

(27) OE. *etan*, ME *eten*, Lat *edo* 'to eat'
WMo. *ide-* 'to eat'. Dag *id-* 'to eat', *ide* 'food'. East Yugur *ede-* 'to eat'

(28) WMo. *gakai*, Dag *gag*, Monguor *hGai* 'pig'

(29) OE. *læt* 'slow, sluggish, tardy', Eng *late*. German *lass* 'slow, lazy'. Lat *lassus* 'weak, wearied'
Ma. *lata* 'slow; dull', *langga-* < **lar+ga-* < **lat+ga-* 'to detain, delay', *langgasa-* 'to be indecisive'
Dag. *laŋkalj-* < **lar+kalj-* 'to be sluggish, slow'

(30) OE. *mara* < **maza* 'bigger', Eng more. Gothic *maiza*, IE

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**mē-/*mo-* 'big'

Ma. *mada-* < **masa-* 'to increase, enlarge', *madaga* 'massive, large', *madagan* 'interest (of money)'. Ulcha *ma:da-* 'increase, enlarge'

Dag. *mada-* 'to increase, enlarge', *madgën* 'interest (of money)'

Ma. *baran* < **mara*, Dag *baran* 'many'

In addition to those in (30), the following Altaic words are to be considered: Tatar *mol* 'many', West Yugur *bezëk* 'big', Spoken Mongolian mara: 'fat, plump'.

(31) ME. *pigge* < OE **picga* 'young pig'
ToB. *mis* < **miske* 'meat, flesh'
Ma. *migan/mihan* 'young pig'
WMo. *mikan*, East Yugur *mahGan* 'meat < pork'

From the earliest period, the pig was seemingly an animal raised as a food source. Presumably for this reason, WMo *mikan* is connected with Ma *migan*. In fact, this type of semantic transfer is also found in the following case: ToA *yäl* 'antelope', Ma *yali* 'meat, flesh'. Interestingly, the East Yugur has *h* occurring before the consonant G, which perhaps developed from **s*.

(32) OE. *sumor*, ME *sumer* 'summer' Armenl *amair*. Avestan *ham*. IE **semer-*
Ma. *juwari* < **sumar* 'summer'

(33) OE. *twa*, Lat *duo*, Grk *duo* 'two'
WMo. *dabkur* (*dab+kur*), Dag *dabkur* 'double'
WMo. *dagagan* < **daba-*, Dag *da:g* 'foal'
Ma. *juwe* < **duwe*, Jur *cu* 'two'

Old Mongolian had no consonant clusters in word-initial position. It was therefore necessary to separate the initial clusters of loanwords by inserting a vowel. The reason for including WMo *dagagan* 'foal' is that this word originally meant 'two year old horse'. This meaning is still preserved in some Mongolian languages, for instance, the Moghol language spoken in Afghanistan has *dayu* 'two year old horse', *dayan-giú* 'two year old ox' (see Iwamura and Schurmann 1954:513).

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(34) Lat. *acus* 'needle'
Dag. *haus* < **hagus*, Ma *haga* 'fishbone'

The reason for connecting Dagur *haus* with Latin *acus* is that in primitive society a fishbone might function as a needle. It has been reported that there are bone-made needles in excavations in Inner Asia.

(35) Lat. *arma* 'tools, weapons'
Jur. *hamma* < **halma* 'sword', Ma *halmari* 'sword used by shamans'

(36) Lat. *caput* 'head, chief'. OE *heafod* 'head'
ToA. *kākmart*, ToB *kamart-* 'majesty, domination'
WMo. *kagan* < **kab+an*, OT *kağan/xağan*, Dag *ha:n*, Ma *han* 'Khan'
Ma. *hafan* < **kaban* 'official, officer'

Clauson (1972:611) pointed out that *xağan* was a title of great antiquity taken over by the Türkü in the sense of 'an independent ruler of a tribe or people'. But this important Altaic regnal title has long remained without an etymological solution. Note that there is no problem with semantics among Latin, Tokharian, and Altaic. As for the phonetic difference, it can be readily solved by considering the alternation of *b/g* in the intervocalic position in many Altaic languages, for example, WMo *debel/degel* 'cloak', *tobalga/togalga* 'lead'. Also, note that in (6) WMo *nokai* 'dog' was borrowed from IE *$*w^{l}k^{w}os$* 'wolf' (Gk. *lukés*, Lat. *lupus*, Skt. *vekal*, etc.) The ToA *k* in the word *kākmart* (< **kak+mart* ?) developed from **p* probably under the Altaic influence. On the other hand, Ma *han* was from Mongolian, whereas Ma *hafan* represented an early parallel to that of Latin. Thus, Ma *f* clearly developed from **b*. Actually, many Altaic regnal titles have etymological connections with IE words (see Wang 1991b).

(37) Lat. *carmen* 'song, verse, incantation'
OT. *ka:m* < **karm* 'sorcerer, soothsayer, magician, *kamla:-* 'to act as a *ka:m*'. Xakani *ka:m* 'soothsayer', *xam* 'sorcerer'. Chagatai *kam* 'physician, healer, sage, wise man'
Ma. *karmani* 'a written charm', *karma-* 'to protect'
Dag. *hämbä* < **karbi* '(a folklore dance)', *hämbä-* 'to dance'

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The Latin *carmen* originally was a chant believed to have occult power. In the past, the Dagurs believed in shamanism. In case of illness and misfortune, they used to summon a *sama* 'shaman' (from ToA *ṣāmaṃ*, ToB *ṣamāne* 'monk'), who believed to have magic power to help or hurt, to give incantations. When doing so, *sama* sang and danced passionately in cooperation with a couple of people assisting in singing, forming a solemn scene. The Dagur *hämbä* is a folklore dance. When the dance comes with a heated rhythm, dancers will shout '*hämbä, hämbä...*'. Perhaps, this dance originated from a sorcery dance.

(38) Lat. *carpō* 'to pluck; to gather'. Hittite *karp(p)-/karp(p)iya/e-* 'to raise, muster, take; complete'
Dag. harm-, WMo karamla- 'to gather up, collect'
OT. *karva*:- 'to grope for, grasp with the hands or teeth'

(39) Lat. *castrare* 'to castrate'
WMo. *agta-* < **hasta-*, Dag *art-* 'to castrate'. Monguor *hdarë-* 'to castrate', *hada* < **harda* 'gelding'
Ma. *akta* 'gelding', *aktala-* 'to castrate'. Oroki *hakta-* 'to castrate', *hakta* 'castrated deer'

(40) Lat. *catus* 'intelligent, sagacious, wise'
Jur. *hati* 'noble, precious, expensive'. Ma *haji* 'dear, beloved'. Dag *katu* 'expensive, difficult'

(41) Lat. *festīnō* 'to hasten, be quick'
Dag. *bënd-* < **berd-* 'to hasten, be quick'

(42) WMo. *ebül/ögül* < **hibel*, Dag *ugul/uwul*, East Yugur *wël* 'winter'
Ma. *tuweri* < **suber* < **hüber* 'winter'
Kaz. *suwëk* < **hübe-*, Tatar *sowëk* 'cold'

(43) Dag. *ondo-* < **hordo-* 'to coax (a child)'

(44) Lat. *ille* 'that, he, she, it'
Dag. *i:n* 'he, she'

(45) Dag. *ibaw*, Ma *ibagan* 'monster, apparition'

(46) Lat. *largus* 'liberal, bountiful; abundant, plentiful', *largior* 'to give abundantly, bestow'.
Ma. *largin* 'profuse, abundant, complicated', *largiša-* 'to act in a diffuse, complicated way'
Dag. *lärgiän* 'over-elaborate, complicated, long-winded, troublesome', *lärgiäl-* 'to act in a long-winded way'

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(47) Lat. *lūctus* 'sorrow'[6]
Dag. *londolj-* < **lordo+lj-* 'to be sorry'
(48) Lat. *mactō* 'to honor'
ToA. *wäktasurñe* 'veneration'
WMo. *magta-*, Ma *makta-*, Uigur *mahta-* 'to praise'
(49) Lat. *macula* 'spot, stain, blemish, fault'
WMo. *magun*, Dag *mo*: 'bad'
(50) Lat. *niger* 'black, dark; gloomy, unlucky; wicked'
Dag. *nëgël* 'bastard, scoundrel'
Ma. *lehele* 'prostitute; illegitimate, born of a whore'
(51) Lat. *nūdus* 'naked, bare'.
WMo. *nicügün*, Dag nuskiä 'nude'
(52) Lat. *nummus* 'coin'
Dag. *lommo* 'coin'

Latin ortus also finds parallels in the other Altaic languages: OT *yïltïz* < **hïltïz* 'root', which survives in one or two northeastern Turkic language group (s) as *yïltïz/çiltïs*, Evenki *ŋi:ŋtë* 'root', Negidal *niŋdë-* 'to root', *niŋtë* 'root', Ulcha *muiktë* 'root' and Evenki *undëhun*, Solon *undëhun* 'root', which were from Mongolian (see Tsintsius 1977:273).

(53) Lat. *ōsculum* 'little mouth'
Dag. *oŋg* < **orgu* 'aperture, opening'
(54) Lat. *sagīna* 'a feeding; food'
Dag. *cägin*, Ma *cahin* 'grain storage'
Hexi *dahan* 'food'
(55) Lat. *sanguīs* 'blood'
Ma. *senggi* 'blood'

Having given scores of etymologies in this section, I shall stress that no language is absolutely 'pure' or free from the influence of other languages. Observed in overall prospective, the lexical inventory of Altaic languages contains many foreign loanwords. Even if some of etymologies I have suggested here seem to be speculative, such speculation may still reveal new facts.

As additional background information about the Latin influence on Altaic, historians argue that a Roman troop was defeated and

[6] Editorial comment. The root of Lat. *lugco* originally means 'break' [cf. Std. *rujáh*, etc.]; the term refers to the violent ritual manifestations of grief/sorrow.

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incorporated by the western Han (Dynasty) force in the western part of China (Gansu Province) two thousand and twenty five years ago.[7] The historians plan archaeological excavations to confirm this story. Linguistic analysis may provide evidence of this story. For instance, as historians argue, after the arrival of the Roman troop, there appeared a term likan/lihan referring to the newcomer. Linguistically, the ethnonym likan/lihan is allied to the Tokharian lokit, laukito 'stranger, guest'. This indicates that the local people referred to the newcomers as stranger and guest.

4. Conclusion

The study of language contact between IE and Altaic in Inner Asia has been an area of great interest for Altaic linguistics for a long time. But Altaicists tended to overemphasize the Chinese impact and underestimate the IE impact on Altaic, though unavoidable, since the various Altaic peoples endeavored to expand southward and several times controlled a large or whole portion of China. For example, Poppe (1954:3) argues that:

> The most ancient loan words in Written Mongolian are of Chinese origin. There are also old Indo-European loan words. Most Indo-European loan words penetrated through the Uigur.

Dealing with the historical situation of the Turkic languages, Clauson (1961:108-109) made the following statement:

> Turkish in the eighth Century was one of the most homogeneous languages which has ever been spoken. Apart from a few loan words, chiefly Chinese and Tokharian, and perhaps a few more not yet identified, it was absolutely 'pure'.

What stands out most in these citations is self-evident. In my view, the most ancient loanwords in the Altaic languages are of IE origin, and many of them directly penetrated into Mongolian and Tungusic, i.e. not necessarily through the Uigur.

Indeed, Inner Asia civilization diffused from west to east and from south to north. However, with respect to language, the sphere of IE influence covered not only the area where IE documents have been

[7] See *Renmin Ribao: Haiwai Ban (People's Daily: Overseas Edition)*, Section 4, December 7, 1989.

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found, but also the large adjacent areas in the easternmost part of Inner Asia. We find that the process of IE influence was often accomplished through absorption of basic vocabulary items into Altaic languages, including numerals and pronouns.

In summary, Tokharian provides clear evidence that IE exerted much more influence on the Altaic languages than any other language in this area, including Chinese. Thus, Tokharian is of special interest in investigating the contacts between Altaic and IE.

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Appendix: Some Terms in Chinese Characters

Hexi	河西	Lüjin	慮眞
Hosgon	合蘇款	Nüjin	女眞
Jujin	注展	Tu-huo-lo	吐火羅
likan	斸斬	Yüeh-chih	月氏/禺氏/禺知

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Editorial Note:

The present paper discusses two main issues in connection with the prehistoric contacts between Indo-European and Ural-Altaic: (a) the background and historical context of two ethnonyms designating the Tocharians; (b) the lexical connections between Indo-European and Uralo-Altaic. Undoubtedly quite familiar with the Chinese annalistic sources, the author makes a vigorous case for his interpretation of the ethnonyms he discusses. When it comes to the lexical relations between Indo-European and Altaic, it is abvious that the author is NOT quite well at home in the Indo-European etymological literaturure and that his somewhat naive use of Old English and Latin as reference material is often inaccuarate or inadequate. To be sure, as the analytical study of the Proto-Indo-European core vocabulary by Thomas Gamkrelidze and Vyacheslav Ivanov in their monumental *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Tbilisi, 1984) has shown, close contacts with the Uralo-Altaic peoples as far as China have existed from time immemorial and the lexicon bears obvious traces of these. But while the correspondence with the Tocharian dialects are impressive, some of the comparisons of the author remain extremely doubtful or, to say the least, controversial, and his "explanations" quite naive, e.g., (31) about the pig or (34) about the needle: the terms for the porcine in Germanic have been studied recently by such scholars as Eric Hamp and Thomas Markey, and it would be in the context of their research that the Old English *picga* should be analyzed; as for Latin *acus*, it is related to a set of terms with the basic meaning "sharp, pointed" and cannot be arbitrarily isolated from them to provide a parallel (or, even more improbably, a source) for an Altaic word. More subtantive research will tell us how much of the abundant material supplied here will be retained. We thought it worthwhile, however, to provide the author with an opportunity to present his views, even if a large part of his illustrative material is hardly convincing or outright inacceptable.

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Eighteenth Century Calcutta: Birthplace of Indo-European Studies[1]

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The rich and exotic civilization created by the Aryans in India had nearly three thousand years in which to mature before European mariners discovered a sea route round the southernmost cape of the African continent. When at last, in 1498, the intrepid Portuguese navigated the Cape of Good Hope and struck out across the Indian Ocean, it was to the palm-fringed beaches of the Malabar Coast that the winds and ocean currents brought them. There, standing on the poop of his small cross-rigged ship, Vasco da Gama looked out over the numberless Arab dhows and picturesque trading craft, and knew the satisfaction of having triumphed where Columbus had failed. He

[1] This article is based on extracts from the author's book entitled *Eastern Interlude: A Social History of the Europeans in Bengal*. Published by the Indian firm of Thacker Spink (Calcutta, 1954) in conjunction with Luzac & Co, London, although this book was about the European residents it was well received in India, being described by the Indian P.E.N. as "exceptionally well-balanced", by the *Hindustan Times* as "free from prejudices and prepossessions", by the *Hindusthan Standard* as "Objective ... Brilliant" and by *Shankar's Weekly* as "An example for students of Indian History". As a member of the Cultural Advisory Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Professor Pearson was personally responsible, in 1953, for dissuading the Christian Burial Board from carrying out their published plans to demolish the historic but sadly decayed eighteenth century European South Park Street Cemetery. This was filled with impressive monuments ranging from cupolas to pyramids and obelisks, evocatively commemorating the sepulchres of many eminent Europeans of that period, notable amongst which was the pyramidical sarcophagus of that great pioneer of Indo-European studies and contributor to linguistic science, Sir William Jones. Failing to obtain assistance from the British High Commission, who wrongly assumed that any attempt to restore the graves and their architecturally important monuments might be misinterpreted by the Indians as an 'imperialist' gesture, Professor Pearson obtained the cooperation of A.D. Khan, a senior member of the Indian Civil Service, then Commissioner for Food in Bengal, and the late Bernard Matthews of the architectural firm of Ballardie, Thompson and Matthews, in the formation of an Appeal Committee to raise funds for the restoration and preservation of the monuments in this cemetery. On the successful accomplishment of this project, this cemetery, dominated by the monument to Sir William Jones, was subsequently recognized as an historical monument by the Indian government who undertook responsibility for its future preservation as an integral part of India's own heritage.

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had opened a sea lane to the fabulous lands of the orient, rich in silk, spices, pepper and indigo. He had also discovered a vast sub-continent, long experienced in the ways of civilization, and heavily modified by the traditions of the Indo-Aryan invaders who had spread their influence over most of this vast, rich and fertile land.

Despite the long period of time over which the Arabs had traded with India, and their own vast acquaintance with so many languages and peoples, no record has come down to us of any Arab enquiry into possible links between the Sanskrit-based languages of India and those of Europe. This is perhaps rather surprising, considering the early Arab familiarity with the classical literature of ancient Greece, but it may be that Arab scholars simply failed to think in evolutionary terms, possibly as a result of the distinctively monotheistic and creationist nature of their religion. In consequence, the Arabs also failed to observe any parallels between Indo-Aryan mythology and that of classical Europe.

Similarly, when the Portuguese arrived, their own dedication to orthodox Roman Catholicism, and to the revealed word of god, also appears to have diverted their scholars from enquiring more closely into the parallels between the languages and cultures of India and the languages and cultures of Europe. One amusing tale is told of how a band of uneducated Portuguese sailors attended a Hindu temple ceremony in the devout belief that they were participating in an orthodox Roman Catholic service. One may question how much the story gained in its retelling by the protestant Englishmen who passed it on to us. Essentially, however, it cannot be doubted that as a result of the thirst for religious orthodoxy that permeated the entire Portuguese nation, even Vasco da Gama and his sailors, as they feasted their eyes upon the Hindu temples, palaces and shrines, each heavily ornamented with the richest and most exotic of South Indian sculpture, saw not only the riches that they hoped might become, in part at least, theirs, but also a pagan people to whom the redeeming grace of Catholic teaching had yet to be extended.

There was a major distinction in the way that Catholic Europeans related to non-European natives of the various lands in which the Europeans established settlements at this time. Due to the power of the Catholic church in southern Europe, all colonization by Spain and Portugal brought with it representatives of the Catholic church, and was ideologically justified as an enterprise to win human souls for Christ. In many countries, and in particular in India, conversion of the

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native peoples was extremely difficult, and since the Portuguese and Spanish colonists were short of womenfolk the Church adopted a deliberate policy of encouraging the colonists to take women from the local population and raise large families of half-caste children, all of whom were raised as Christians. Inducements were regularly offered to young Portuguese men to marry locally, requiring only that their wives should become converts to Christianity. The young Hindu widow, doomed by the customs of her own people to commit ritual suicide on the death of her husband, or to remain as an often unwelcome guest in the household of her deceased husband's family, was easily tempted to forsake the worship of the many-armed but unsympathetic Shiva, or of the elephant-headed Ganesh, in order to kneel beside a new European husband, and light candles before the gentle image of the Madonna.

Strong emphasis was placed on the Christian tradition, and so Portuguese and Spanish colonies generally comprised havens of European culture populated by *mestizos* or mixed bloods, but controlled by a small group of full-blooded expatriate Europeans, both as lay and as Church officials. This even reflected itself in the layout of Catholic colonial towns. The pure-blooded expatriate European officials dwelt in the prestigious center of such settlements (often with mestizo wives, unless they were of noble descent, in which case they would take care to bring a gentlewoman of noble descent as their wife from Europe). This central core would be encircled by the houses and shops of the mestizos, and the outer part of the settlement or town would comprise natives who had come to the settlement attracted by the opportunity to trade or work in the settlement.

The reaction of the early Protestants who came to India was therefore quite different from that of the Catholics. Already the Renaissance had swept most of Europe, Catholic as well as Protestant, bringing with it new visions of an ancient breadth, and a re-learning of something at least of the scholarship of ancient Greece and Rome, which had been disrupted first by the rising popularity of mystery cults of Egyptian, Levantine and possibly part Pelasgian origin, then overturned by the Germanic invasions, and finally suppressed by a Judaeo-Christianity lost in its passionate refusal to accept any knowledge other than that which purported to have been "revealed" by an all-powerful and omniscient God of History. With the advent of the Reformation, some of the Protestant scholars of northern Europe chose to turn their minds to the study of the Hebrew books of the Old

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Testament, and in turn shut out much of what was to be learned about the world. Others, however, finding their minds freed from the dictates of the Catholic Church, instead allowed their imaginations to roam freely through the residual learning of antiquity and to devote themselves to the perusal of such early European, literary, scientific and philosophical works of Greek and Latin origin as still survived.

While the Catholic Church taught the universality of humanity – all people being regarded as the children of God, needing only conversion to permit them to enter heaven – the North Europeans were influenced toward a more racial stance by two forces. First the traditional ethos of pre-Christian Europe, which survived to some extent among the aristocracy of southern Europe (including the Spanish and Portuguese nobility), but was more general in northern Europe, was hierarchical and race-oriented. The Renaissance had reinforced the residual emphasis upon breeding and heroic virtues. But Protestantism leaned heavily on the Old Testament, while Catholicism followed the universality of the New Testament; and the Old Testament reflected the tribal exclusiveness and hierarchical attitudes of early Judaic society and thus reinforced the traditionally genealogical and hereditarian tendencies of the northern European aristocracy.

By strict contrast with the Catholics, therefore, the settlements of Protestant north Europeans – the British, Dutch, Danes, Swedes and Germans – were invariably constructed quite separate from any native town, and persons of non-European descent were required to live in the native town (often, as in India, called the "black" town). Any Armenian and Levantine traders who sought to attach themselves to European settlements occupied a more or less intermediate status, but were usually required to occupy a separate quarter in the event they were permitted to live within the European settlement.

It was among the educated English gentlemen who visited India during the decades immediately following its discovery by the Portuguese, that the first inklings of the extent of Indo-European linguistic relations became apparent. Freed from religious authoritarianism, many Englishmen of the time of Elizabeth I and James I became pioneers of the new era of modern scientific thought beginning at that time. Thus, it was no accident that it was an Englishman by the name of Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) who first recognized, in a letter to his brother in England, that the Sanskrit-derived languages of India were generically related to the classical languages of Europe.

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But, in the puritanical era that followed, in the mid-seventeenth century, particularly while England was under the rule of Cromwell, the majority of the English who came to India in the service of the English East India Company were radical Protestants of merchant background. These believed, like the Moslem Arab merchants before them, in the Old Testament concept of an all-powerful God of History, whose revealed word was a fully adequate guide to life. Some even believed that enquiry into matters not already explained by the servants of God was akin to demonology. Thus, men like Job Charnock, the son of an East Anglian squire, who founded Calcutta (the same city in which, a hundred years later, Sir William Jones was to reveal in greater detail than Thomas Stephens the historical relationship between the Indo-European family of languages) was a typical product of Cromwellian England. As bible-believing Christians, he and his colleagues felt themselves to be inherently superior to the 'Moors', as they dubbed the Moslems, and to the 'pagans' as they dubbed the Hindus, seeing the temple ceremonies of the latter – heavily influenced as these were by autochthonous pre-Aryan beliefs and rituals and therefore repugnant to most Europeans – as proof that all pagans were the servants of the devil, and as such were unworthy of attention. except as sources of traded wealth.

However, Puritan influence amongst the servants of the British Honourable East India Company rapidly diminished under the reign of the later Stuarts, and by the eighteenth century service with the Company had become fitting employment for the younger sons of gentlemen. While the Puritans of the first half of the seventeenth century had been dominated by religious pietism, the young gentlemen who now came out to India following the British victories in the wars against the Dutch and the French, had mostly received a classical education, some even becoming agnostics, and in consequence had open enquiring minds.

This new class of educated English military officers and merchants which became more prominent in the eighteenth century showed, as a reflection of their own gentlemanly and sometimes aristocratic backgrounds, a new distaste for intermarriage with Indians – an attitude which was encouraged by improved communications with Europe. When ships had to round the Cape of Good Hope, it cost not less than five hundred pounds to land a European wife in Calcutta, but with the opening of a land route across Egypt, where the Suez canal was later to be built, English ships could offload their passengers at

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Port Said, who would then travel by camel to Suez (often visiting Cairo and the pyramids *en route*), where they could board a waiting ship for India. This led to an annual "fishing fleet" of unmarried young Englishwomen who would visit relatives in India during the cool winter months in search of husbands among the many eligible young English bachelors resident in that country.

However, the arrival of relatively large numbers of educated Englishwomen was far from a cultural disaster. The new class of classically educated English men and women who dominated the Indian scene from the end of the eighteenth century was culturally sophisticated. These wives were generally well read and had customarily acquired skills in the arts of music and drawing, and many of them took a deep interest in the culture of India. Many devoted much of their ample leisure time to painting Indian scenes, such as historic temples and dramatic rural landscapes, as well as the European settlements. Today these survive as the most reliable guide we have to the appearance of India in the pre-photographic era.

Thus, instead of spending their leisure hours in church, or in their quarters reading their bibles, from the latter half of the eighteenth century we find the English employees of the Honourable East India company frequently devoting long hours to the study of the richly varied culture of the subcontinent on which they found themselves. It was no accident that people of the calibre of William Makepeace Thackeray (born in Calcutta in a house on "Free School Street") were the product of this self-conscious 'Anglo-Indian' society, which lived in luxury and consequently had time enough to indulge the intellectual pursuits of their class in a century graced by cultural achievements in all the major European nations. The influence of their classical education is well evidenced by the palaces they built, some of which are still standing. Indeed, Calcutta had become a magnificent and beautiful metropolis by the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Reared in an elegant country house in England, usually as a younger son, and educated amongst the spires and domes of Oxford and Cambridge, the new arrival in Calcutta at the time of Sir William Jones, could not but feel wonderment at the splendour of the city that lay in front of him as he disembarked from his ship on the river Hooghly. As one of these, James Atkinson, wrote in poetry:

> I stood a wondering stranger at the *Ghaut*
> And, gazing round, beheld the pomp of spire,

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And Palaces, to view like magic brought
All glittering in the sunbeam.

The *ghaut*, of course, was the Hindi word for quay, and the sunbeams were, in fact, the mercilessly bright tropical sun, beating down on every corner of the earth beneath it. But other travellers from the same period confirm the young Atkinson's poetic impression. Grandpré visiting Calcutta in 1789, the year that the French Revolution broke out in Europe, and just one century after the founding of the city by the Puritan Charnock, described it as "the handsomest town in the East." Similarly, the talented Mrs. Sherwood – one of those many remarkable English wives of Calcutta society who left us such a rich legacy of poetry, letters, descriptive prose and drawings before dying untimely deaths, in all too many cases, as victims of the tropical diseases which annually decimated the European residents – stated that "the noble row of houses in Chowringhee [the new main street of the British residential area, facing across the tree-covered *maidan* (open park) towards the Fort William] appeared to the eye more to resemble visions of enchantment than real earthly dwellings." To be truthful, instead of rapturing poetically about "sunbeams" she does admit that "the heat and glare [the houses were whitewashed for coolness] were very disagreeable." However, everywhere in the Calcutta of Sir William Jones' day, thanks to the taste and culture of its residents who left such a wealth of literature, poetry, art and paintings, was to be seen elegance and refinement. Indeed, Bishop Heber was inspired to comment that the new eighteenth century Botanical Gardens at Calcutta "provide the nearest approach to Milton's concept of Paradise that I have ever seen."

Such was the city created by the European gentlemen who established the first scientific and literary society in modern Asian history, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at the third annual meeting of which its first Patron, Sir William Jones, presented his historic paper documenting the evidence for the great family of Indo-European languages. Profound research was necessary to achieve such results, and to produce the kind of papers that were regularly presented by amateur but often brilliantly talented scholars at meetings of this privately financed society. Let us remember, also, that these scholars were working people, with jobs to do, whose research was carried out as a leisure activity, and who spent much of their income on financing Indian scholars to supply them with the information they zealously

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sought. Their commitment to the highest of intellectual tastes is perhaps also reflected in their choice of entertainments besides actual scholarly research. While most gave some time to physical exercise, such as snipe-shooting and other field sports of the trend so popular with eighteenth century English gentlemen, they often gathered in the evening for cultural soirees, and in the horrendously hot summer evenings they took to boats on the broad river Hooghly, where black slaves, imported from Africa and trained to play the French horn "were popularly employed to provide music for evening trips on the river, the beauty of which brought Dryden's 'Cydnus and Cleopatra' to mind", as one contemporary wrote in a letter to relatives in England.

Contemporary political fashion has tended to lead many present-day writers to assume that the British 'imperialists' who lived in India during Sir William Jones' lifetime despised Indian culture, and were boorishly contemptuous and unenquiring about the world around them. The truth is surprisingly the reverse. Indeed, it was precisely those who were most interested in Indian antiquities who were the lobbyists for empire-building while it was the missionaries, and those of "Whiggish" or what was later to be called "liberal" bent, who scorned the traditions of Indian civilization, and sought to impose western customs and culture upon India, rather like the earlier puritans. Sir Warren Hastings, who was later unsuccessfully impeached by his Whig enemies, was perhaps the greatest "imperialist" of all Englishmen in the long history of the English in India.

To no small extent his imperialist ambitions grew out of his deep involvement with and extensive knowledge of Indian languages, history and culture – which he respected to the extent that he advocated the introduction of both Persian and Sanskrit as subjects to be offered at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He was himself an accomplished scholar of both Persian and Sanskrit, and spent much of his time translating Indian poetry and classical texts into English while being carried from one battlefield or treaty place to another in his palanquin. He had an extensive grasp of all things Indian, and conceived of the possibility of building a permanent British empire in India. To achieve this, he argued, it would be necessary to establish in India a permanent new upper caste, above the existing Indian castes made up of Europeans who would follow the rigid precepts of the Hindu caste system, and marry only amongst themselves, but who would be born, live and die in the country, making it their permanent home, instead of dreaming always of

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retiring to England, as did his contemporaries. This he felt would be but a logical extension of the Hindu system which had been established by a merger of the Aryan culture with pre-Aryan elements when earlier Indo-European speaking invaders had imposed themselves as a new ruling caste upon the already ancient and highly heterogeneous indigenous society. Furthermore, it would be facilitated by the ancient Indian respect for those of lighter skin, since in his days there was an almost universal prejudice throughout India which customarily associated relative lightness of skin with higher social standing.

In contrast to the scholarly interest of the "imperialists" in all things Indian, stood the attitude of the missionaries, who still saw the world in terms of Christians and pagans, and who deemed it their duty to supplant pagan social systems with Christian learning and Christian concepts as to correct social behavior. Though some of these did study Indian culture, and leave us valuable accounts of it, their studies of pagan culture were primarily motivated by their desire to find out how to succeed in replacing it by Christian values and standards. It is not without interest to note that when an appeal was made for funds with which to erect a new church with missionary goals, it was but poorly subscribed to, and Sir William Jones himself opposed the project, feeling that missionary goals were inappropriate. Indeed, one of his contemporaries, Lt. Colonel Robert Kydd, the distinguished botanist who had played such a prominent role in the establishment of the famed Calcutta Botanical Gardens across the river at Kidderpore (subsequently named after him), bequeathed in his will a regular pension to one of his servants, with the comment that this was "in retribution for the unsuitable (Christian) education given to him, entailing separation from his native soil and kindred".

Yet although Englishmen of imperialist and aristocratic bent, like Warren Hastings, appreciated Indian and especially Hindu culture, possibly feeling sympathy for the Indo-Aryan caste system, rooted as it was in the idea of ethnic identity and genetic integrity, the missionaries and their ideological allies, the Whigs, were not to be kept out of India. Since the Honourable East India company was a British company, it could not escape the authority of the British Parliament, and Whigs often obtained lucrative appointments to the administration of the British settlements in British India and missionaries also obtained permission to establish themselves in India – where they made few converts, except among the very lowest castes of Hindus – and were criticized by the more imperialist-minded of the English for

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the resentment they created among the Indians.

By contrast, the Whigs and the missionaries took the view that not only was it morally correct to attempt to convert Indians to Christianity, but that Indians should be successfully integrated into the mainstream of Western culture, that they should be educated in Western ideas – and, what is more, that this education should be given in the English language. In consequence, there already existed in Sir William Jones' lifetime a dispute as to whether Indian art and culture should be encouraged, or whether it should be suppressed and submerged beneath Western culture. Notably, it was the imperialists who advocated that Indian arts, customs and languages should be encouraged to flourish, just as Hastings had argued that they should be introduced as subjects to be taught in the leading British universities. Similarly, it was the imperialists – who openly supported the further strengthening of British authority in India, but understood the country more thoroughly – who argued that the new universities which the British established in India during the nineteenth century should use either Sanskrit or Persian as the medium of education. This proved to be an important issue, for at that time the physical sciences and the technological achievements of the Industrial Revolution were still in their infancy, and if an Indian language had been used in the new British-sponsored universities, the chosen language would have grown with the growth of science. But this was not to be, and Whigs appointed from Britain, such as Lord Macaulay, who served on the Bengal Supreme Court for several years in the early nineteenth century, pressed for the choice of English. Anachronistically, most of the Whig appointees, from Sir Philip Francis down to Lord Macaulay, had little liking for Indian customs. Broad-minded as Macaulay claimed to be, it is on record that he longed for the day he could return to England, writing that while he took great pleasure in the intellectual companionship which he found in Anglo-Indian life in Calcutta, "all the fruits of the Tropics are not worth a pottle (sic) of Covent Garden strawberries, and a lodging up three pairs of stairs in London is better than a palace in a compound on Chowringhee."

Clearly, a recognition of the great panorama of Indo-European history, linking the Ancient Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavs, and Celts to the Persians and Indo-Aryans, was only likely to become apparent to persons who had had the benefit of an education in the European classics and who had the opportunity to become acquainted with the cultures and languages of the East. The Indian 'pundits' who guided

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these men and women in the languages, cultures, history and traditions of India could not themselves have discovered the ancient cultural linkage between India and Europe because they did not have access to knowledge about Europe. The Arabs, though renowned for their scholarship, surprisingly failed to detect these links, despite centuries of trade with both India and Europe and an exposure to the ancient cultures of both continents. It took refined, educated and intellectually adventurous English gentlemen of the calibre of Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones – who ventured to India not only for financial gain but also for the chance to live out the dreams of their schooldays, steeped as these had been in the study of the Homeric epics, of the Roman empire, and of the dazzling conquests of Alexander the Great, whose Macedonian soldiers had themselves crossed the Indus – to achieve this dramatic step forward in the advancement of scholarship.

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Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion

STUDIES IN HONOR OF EDGAR C. POLOMÉ
(In Two Volumes)

Volume 1

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Eastern Europe Confronts Sociobiology: Contemporary East European Reaction to Western Social Science

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In Eastern Europe, only recently freed from Marxist-Leninist controls, scholars are now expressing new trains of thought influenced by increasing access to Western academic thought. Interestingly, however, whether due to their long experience with Marxism or to continuing strength of the traditions such as those of Edmund Husserl, Georg Lukács and the so-called Frankfurt School, many are still down-playing the importance of genetics and seeing "sociobiology" in outdated Spencerian terms or through the spectacles of environmentalists and Western thinkers close to the neo-Marxist tradition.

The roots of Western sociobiological thought are to be found in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. This made such an impact in its time that even Karl Marx is said to have considered asking Darwin to write an introduction to *Das Kapital*. The logic of Darwin's analysis was so impressive that his arguments about competition and fitness were borrowed by Herbert Spencer and grafted onto the economic theory of Adam Smith to create a philosophical justification for the latter's theory of the market mechanism (Wilhelm Neurath, 1880).

The resultant biopolitical intellectual concepts were well known in Eastern Europe up to the end of the Second World War, at which time, with the advance of the Soviet armies, they were thoroughly suppressed within sciences of the countries which fell under Communist control. With the establishment of the Stalinist system, all intellectual traditions of this kind were replaced by Marxist theory in one or other of its various popular versions.

However, only a decade after the expulsion of sociobiology and biopolitics from the East European scientific scene, a "reform science"

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began to emerge in Poland, and in 1968 a similar trend could be seen in Hungary. Marked by elements of pragmatic, structural and functional theories of science, some appreciation of sociobiology began to appear in these countries. It was felt that it was impossible to explain all phenomena as aspects of economic, social and cultural forces alone – as implied by Marxism – and that one must consider biological and "biopolitical" forces as well.

East-West Scientific Contact

Thus in Eastern Europe there has been for some time an interest in Western sociobiology and biopolitics. With the collapse of state communism, the interest in Western science, including sociobiology, has grown. The main dilemma among East European scholars reared in the Marxist tradition has been how to define its scope or *Gültigkeit*, from a genetic or biological point of view. The result has been a change in East European academic thought based on the selection of ideas from the various schools of scientific philosophy prevalent in the West. And in the West they find writers sympathetic to Marxism who do not ignore the reality of biological forces. As Marcel Prenant wrote in *Biology and Marxism* (1943, p. 193): "Too many people who call themselves Marxists reiterate that Marx was never really more than an economist and that Marxism is concerned only with the social as opposed to the biological sciences." Marx and Engels welcomed Darwinian theory because it provided a materialistic interpretation of history; but they rejected his concept of evolution by selection. Engels criticized Darwin's "naive" acceptance of Malthusian theory which he claimed was due to "the mistake of mechanistic biologists who take physical or chemical diagrams for causal explanations

In short, Marx and Engels and their followers believed, and still believe, that man has become so different as a result of culture that economic forces have subordinated biological reality. In a limited sense they are right, but Marxists conceive of a world in which the biological aptitudes inherent in man can be effectively modified or even totally suppressed by social engineering. In consequence the belief that Marx's "ideal world" can be realized by social engineering remains strong among many Western intellectuals, and neo-Marxist thinkers in the West offer an imaginative and attractive alternative to Wilsonian sociobiology which is appealing to Marxist-trained scholars in East European universities who have been shocked by the collapse of state communism and Marxist-Leninism.

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This thinking is even reflected in an editorial dated Oct.9, 1992 in the influential Western journal *Science* (Editor, Daniel E. Koshland, Jr., Deputy Editor, Ellis Rubenstein). This openly suggests that modern advances in understanding the human brain may make it possible to eliminate, possibly by the use of drugs, such "disorders" as "aggressiveness, nationalism, bigotry, and sadism." Agreeing, by implication, that "nationalism, aggressiveness and competitiveness" may be inherited "instincts," the editorial nevertheless charges that "some instincts are anachronistic ... [and that] we can use education or medicines to overcome basic instincts." It is in attitudes such as this that modern neo-Marxists find encouragement. Their dream world may yet be built by psychiatric engineering, even given the reality of Western sociobiological science.

In general, East European scholars still hold back from accepting Western sociobiology in its more developed form, and they reject what has been pejoratively termed "genetic determinism" by Western Marxist critics. The new evidence provided by modern science as to the importance of genetics in determining human behavior seems too close to the theories of Germany in the 1930's to be pleasant to minds trained in Marxist thinking. With (non-Leninist) Marxist views still flourishing in contemporary Western intellectual circles, it is little wonder that many East European academics who are fleeing Marxist-Leninist thought find solace in the near-Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions which today flourish in the West.

Michael Buraway summed up the view of most contemporary Western Marxist theorists in his paper, published in *Marxism* (1991), which carried the apposite title "Marxism is Dead, Long Live Marxism!"

> Far from being a refutation of Marxism, Soviet communism's failure to realize the promises of socialism is a powerful vindication of Marxism. After all, the social-democratic wing of Marxism in the tradition of Eduard Bernstein, George Plekhanov, or Karl Kautsky was forever condemning the Bolsheviks for usurping history. Even the revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg warned them ... not to make a virtue out of a necessity ... The 'Marxism is dead' school would do well to confine its self-congratulation to the burial of Marxism-Leninism, if only for reasons of self-preservation. They violate history when they reduce all Marxism – the writings of Marx and Engels, the German Marxists, the original Russian Marxism, and

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> the Frankfurt School, and third world Marxism – to Marxism Leninism ... we are witnessing the *liberation of Marxism* [author's italics] from forces which have stunted its growth. The winds of *glasnost* may have spread the seeds of new revitalized Marxisms ...

Consequently it is not surprising that East European scholars who are becoming acquainted with the writings of Western scholars about genetics, ranging from Dawkins to Wilson, still place most emphasis on social, economic and cultural processes. Because of surviving remnants of Marxism and of "German" classical philosophy, the role of biology is being interpreted in accordance with specific Western schools of thought which reject "genetic determinism" and favor social and economic forces as the prime determinants of human behavior.

In Western science, the Darwinist and Mendelian traditions have gained varying degrees of acceptance, and Lysenkoism has been rejected. But most contemporary East European scholars, discovering sociobiology, try to adapt it to a framework of more familiar philosophies and patterns of thought. Accordingly, they still see economic, social, cultural and socio-historical phenomena as the decisive factor in shaping the evolution of human beings and human societies. In looking at Western thought, they find several traditions which are nearer to that to which they are accustomed, and these are attracting their interest. They find a bridge in the tradition of Kant, Schopenhauer and those elements of transcendental philosophy that are connected with pragmatic, cognitive, structural and biological thinkers as: Henry Bergson, Bertrand Russell, and Will Durant.

Examining the history of these two different modes of thought, one emphasizing the biological and the other the environmental, let us outline the general trends of philosophy and identify the emerging influence of the sociobiological in the sciences of such countries as Hungary, East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union. The role of biology in social thought was well known not only in 19th century Germany and Austria, but in Hungary too, where there were intellectual circles in which these and related ideas were sometimes dominant. Further, in the case of Polish science – for example in the philosophy and theory of Ludwik Krzywicki and in Polish positivism – the roots of sociobiological thinking can be traced back to the second half of 19th century Poland.

As we have noted, sociobiological thought grew on the firm basis provided by Charles Darwin. Darwin's evolutionary theory of the

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"survival of the fittest" was developed by Herbert Spencer into the theory of *individual* competitiveness in the realm of economics and the free market idea of individual competition. National Socialism and Fascism were also based on Darwinism but emphasized the importance of group cooperation and *group competition* rather than individual competition. Yet elements of pragmatic and cognitive sociobiology are also to be found in an elementary form in "classical German" natural philosophy. The possibility of integrating such sciences as biology, chemistry, biophysics, neurophysics, experimental psychology and nuclear physics is largely due to this background.

Today, East European scholars are approaching Western thought on the basis of their acquaintance with pragmatic elements of "German" natural philosophy, and further are influenced by their familiarity with Engel's *The Dialectics of Nature*. According to the latter the main topic of scientific analysis is "elementary facts": elements, atoms, or cells, derived from the structure of matter or nature. Engels saw biological cells as a unit, which was part of a "whole," the whole having a self-organizing character. Between the elements in this organic whole there were mutual feed-back processes mediated by communication processes, involving signs, symbols, non-verbal and verbal communication. He saw evolution and the development of human society as partly due to a "mutual feedback" postulated between animal-like social organization and its relation to the environment. The elementary parts comprised, in a state of stable motion, a biological whole. This state of homeostasis or equilibrium was what facilitated the functioning of the structure as a whole. In this tradition elements of cognitive sign and symbol systems are frequently addressed in contemporary Polish science (e.g. B. Rok, and M. Czarnocka, 1987) and in Soviet "socio-biological thought" (e.g. B.M. Kedroff 1988, and Z.A. Kuzychewa, 1987, further A.M. Portnoff, 1988). In this context there was an interesting statement made by the exiled Polish scholar Liszek Kołakowski, writing in 1988: "the 'dynamics of matter' is very popular in Western science, a result of Western liberal bourgeois thought, while it is notably absent in the case of the East European sciences."

Early Frontiers of Sociobiology in the West and East

Darwinian theory, as developed into a structural and functional trend of social thought by Spencer, could also be observed in the theoretical system of the British anthropologist Radcliffe Brown. However, many contemporary East European scholars claim to see a

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parallel between Radcliffe Brown's structural-functionalism and Engels' conception of society as a social whole formed by atom-like units which exists for the satisfaction of elementary needs. This theory of human society appears in Ludwik Krzywicki's theory based on Spencerism (e.g. Ryszard Nazar, 1987, and Seweryn Dziamski, 1988). The early adaptation and interpretation of Darwin and Spencer by Krzywicki provided a guide to the comprehension of sociobiological elements of the structural and functional sciences in Poland (e.g. Mariola Flis, 1988).

The East European Search for "Action Theories"

The concept of "motion of atom-like elements" guides such East European scholars in their thinking about the general theory of social and cultural evolution. *Homo sapiens* to them is a result of a development from animal-like bands. With the rise of *Homo sapiens* and the development of language, the means of verbal communication and conscious human activity, cooperative work was facilitated.

The post-Marxist-Leninist East European scholarly mind is furnished in such a way that biological factors are still regarded as minor forces in the rise of human society and human beings. The beginnings of hominid evolution from animal-like beings to consciously acting man, to *Homo sapiens* (e.g. Tamás Bereczkei, 1986, 1989) are seen as linked to an ability to modify the natural environment through communicative action, i.e. to work. Non-humans were not seen by Marx and Engels to have the same conscious ability to determine their actions which they ascribed to man. According to the prevailing form of contemporary East European thought, hominid social history shows an evolution from the animal-like bands of early man up to the high levels of community action of *Homo sapiens*. Together with the notion that history represents the evolution of consciously acting and working man, the "goal-oriented activity" (*zweckrationale Taetigkeit*) to which Marx referred is a basic explanatory principle. This gives rise to the concept of *Homo faber* or *Homo ludens* (i.e. Seweryn Żurawiecki 1987, Tadeusz Plużański, 1988). The phenomenon of *Homo sapiens* is based on the existence and process of "goal-oriented activity" and this principle is today a common meeting point for many theorists of the West and East. Because of mutual socio-political relations between East and West Germany, this thought emerged early in East Germany, even under Marxist government (i.e. Horst Holzer, 1987).

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The Dilemma of Collectivity

Briefly described, most East European scholars of today emphasize the importance of social-economic interaction when looking at Western sociobiology and argue that not all phenomena of human society can be explained by biological factors. To their mind, "history" cannot be fully explained by reading books such as those by Wilson, or even Dawkins. This interpretation was to be observed in several of the works written by the Hungarian scholar Tamás Bereczkei i.e. 1986, 1987, 1989). Other East European scholars, coming to terms with Darwinian thought, stress "human community" in the interpretation of sociobiology rather than human "individuality." Parallel debates concerning economic theory could be mentioned, where methodological discussions in economics stressed old fashioned macroeconomic concepts against microeconomics, a relatively new phenomenon in Eastern sciences. Those who accept Spencerian concepts of biologically determined economics argue that individual human activity has social and psychological features as well as biologically-based economic survival motives. (i.e. Seweryn Żurawiecki, 1987).

The question of community versus individuality and macroeconomics versus microeconomics occupies an important place in the East European community-oriented reaction to Western Spencerian interpretations of Darwinian thought. The Spencerian concept of individualist biopolitical evolution is not accepted by many East European thinkers. This controversy can be traced back to the philosophical tradition of French positivism (i.e. Janusz Mucha, 1986). The controversy of diachrony versus synchrony was expressed by East German writers such as Wolfgang Kuettler (1986), and by Polish writers such as Seweryn Dziamski (1988) and Bronislaw Minc (1987).

Common Traditions in East-West Philosophy of Science

Contemporary East European thinking finds sympathetic elements among selected schools of Western thought. The roots of pragmatic sociobiology can be found in the mechanistic philosophy of the Western Enlightenment and comparative parallels are observable among the rationalist elements of the classical "German" natural philosophy. In German philosophical transcendentalism one may find elements of the cognitive positive aspects of pragmatic sociobiology and bioscience. As an example of the influence of the Western Enlightenment on pragmatic bioscience the use of logical methods of deduction can be observed (i.e. Żurawiecki, 1987). Within Western pragmatic

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sociobiology and its communicational system, there are intellectual traditions of sensualistic thinking derived from the philosophy of Condillac under the influence of Newtonian mechanics and the notion that the methods of experimental sciences could also be applied to the human sciences. These experimental methods can be adopted from biology, chemistry or psychology (i.e. Barbara Skarga, 1987; Seweryn Żurawiecki, 1987).

As we have said, the recent reopening to the East of the thought and methods of the enlightenment has been possible with the fall of state Marxist-Leninist communism. When East European scholars were forced to build a Marxist system, they were able only to adopt the ontology of the Hungarian Marxist Georg Lukács, professor of philosophy and education at the University of Budapest from 1945-56 and people's commissar for culture and education under the short-lived Bela Kun Marxist regime in 1919. Lukács was followed not least for his views on the neo-positivism of Wittgenstein. Similar views can be found in "German" natural philosophy and in the rationalist elements found also in German transcendentalism (i.e. Tadeusz Plużański, 1988). Such elements can also be found in West European philosophical thought in the ideas of the Frankfurt School and the neo-positivist thought derived from "The New Philosophy" of Wittgenstein (i.e. Janusz Mucha, 1986). A parallel phenomenon can be observed again in the pragmatic approach to scientific theory by Carl Popper, the French Althusser and in the neo-positivist structuralist system of science of Gadamer. These traditions are influential today among Western scholars, and are now gradually spreading among East European thinkers, as in the case of Seweryn Dziamski (1988) in Poland.

Similar philosophical elements are also found in the so-called Marburg school of philosophy, representing a pragmatic and cognitive interpretation of classical German philosophy which reflects a very different sociobiological approach from that of Wilson. As an example of the Marburg tradition we may quote the transcendental idealism, phenomenology and metaphysics of Edmund Husserl (see Michael Thomas, 1987). Thomas's book on Husserl was published in East Germany before it received its freedom from its Marxist rulers, and this kind of connection once again illustrates how writers in East Europe, moving away from Marxist-Leninist thought, are seeking out sympathetic inspiration among Western thinkers without adopting Spencer's extreme individualism or Edward Wilson's pronounced

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emphasis on genetics. While there has been a revitalization of the concept of Darwinian fitness as adapted by Spencer to justify "laissez faire" market competition (e,g, the concept of the "socialist shark," J. Marek Siemek, 1988), there is still a strong attachment to philosophies which stress community-related concepts of human behavior, rather than Spencerian individualism or the heavily genetic emphasis found in Western sociobiology. Hence they are attracted by writers close to the Lukács tradition rather than to Spencerian economics or Wilsonian sociobiology.

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Facing the Malthusian Threat: Some Implications of the World Population Explosion

William P. Andrews
Silver Spring, Maryland

A fallacy that has a strong hold on human minds is that the population explosion is a problem for some one else to worry about, and that we ourselves have no need to be concerned with it. Granted that humans claim an interest in the welfare of their direct descendants (ones they can see and relate to), the general notion is that the problems created by world over-population are so remote that our "near and dear" are not affected. The purpose of this paper is not scientific, as that aspect of the problem has already been thoroughly explicated. The purpose is to express the realities directly and in a format that makes denial extremely difficult. As a co-worker once remarked: "If you are not hysterical, that just shows that you do not understand the problem."

There are two aspects to this problem; both of them are denied public discussion and debate. One of them is the human quantity problem, the other the human "quality" problem. The quotes are added as explanation is needed: when we speak of human "quality," what is not in question is human worth and dignity, but rather the matter of luck in the genetic lottery. Both aspects are, it seems, firmly linked to personality traits, and, since our values are responsive to our genetically-determined strongly held desires, in our ethical systems as well.

The harsh and difficult part of the quantity problem is that we are programmed by the evolutionary process to compete for success and dominance. This competition in a Malthusian world has frightful consequences. But technology has of late enabled humanity to grow and prosper. The net result has been a window in history when "altruism" has been an affordable virtue. The population explosion, however, is continuing and is now returning some societies, most prominently those in the "third world," to a Malthusian condition. If humanity comprised a single race, and was not segregated into groups,

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then when it hit the Malthusian barrier all would suffer more or less equally and a rational approach to the problem might be possible. But the reality as provided to us by evolution is a variety of different populations, some of which are still segregated into more or less homogeneous political states, and others mixed together in multi-racial political units. Consider a multi-racial state made up of blues and reds. Suppose that blues were reproducing faster than the reds, and the reds, to control excessive growth decided to restrict their own reproduction rate. This would help ameliorate the problem for a while, but only until, at long last, there were no more reds, only blues. At that point the population would again begin to grow. This situation would continue until the blues similarly learned restraint, perhaps too late. Who favors that situation? On the other hand, how can anyone legislate parity of ethnic reproduction in a country where there is freedom of reproductive choice? Most would concur that such legislation is incompatible with freedom of choice. And "freedom of reproductive choice" is an ethical standard that is seldom, if ever, questioned publicly.

As between countries, there are two structural approaches. One is to "share the wealth" according to population size or "need." The other is to hold each country responsible for controlling its population so as to be able to live within its resource capability. The first is "fair" in that we would all perish together, as the incentive for compliance with population goals and/or constraints would not be there. The second is considered to be "unfair," in that those that "bite the bullet" would succeed and those that did not would fail. Which is better, the "fair" way, were everybody perishes, or the "unfair" way, where there is some hope that someone will "win?" In the latter case there is also the hope that if one or several countries show by example that it can be done, the remainder may eventually emulate them and also succeed in avoiding a Malthusian fate, or ever recovering from one.

The "quality" problem is also a painful issue, and one that is even more difficult to quantify. The fuzziness of the problem does not deny its reality. The differences between human stocks were a product of evolution. Human populations are constantly evolving, in the sense that change is never absent. Such change is influenced by – but not always in synchronism with – nature's "needs." The selection process is even less consonant with a blissful stress-free existence. Nature's sole concern is with the survival or non-survival of offspring, and competitiveness is the instrument which determines the evolutionary result.

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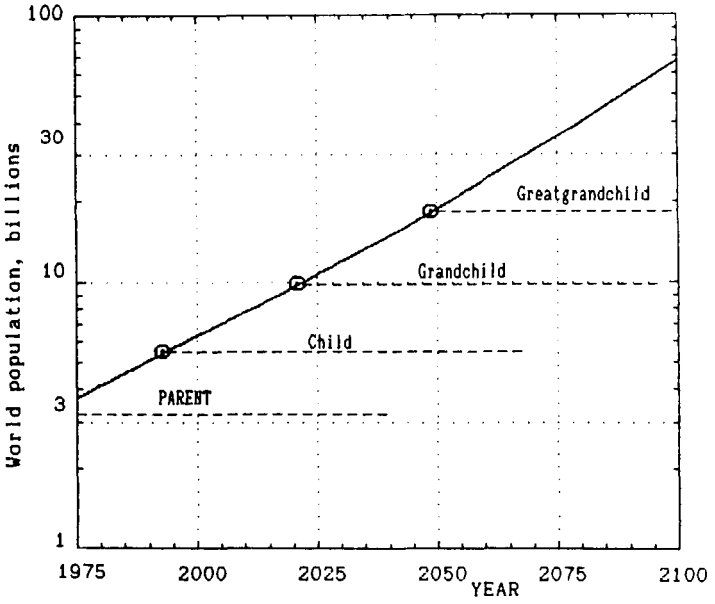

FIGURE 1: Plot of extrapolated world population with timing of parent and early progeny.

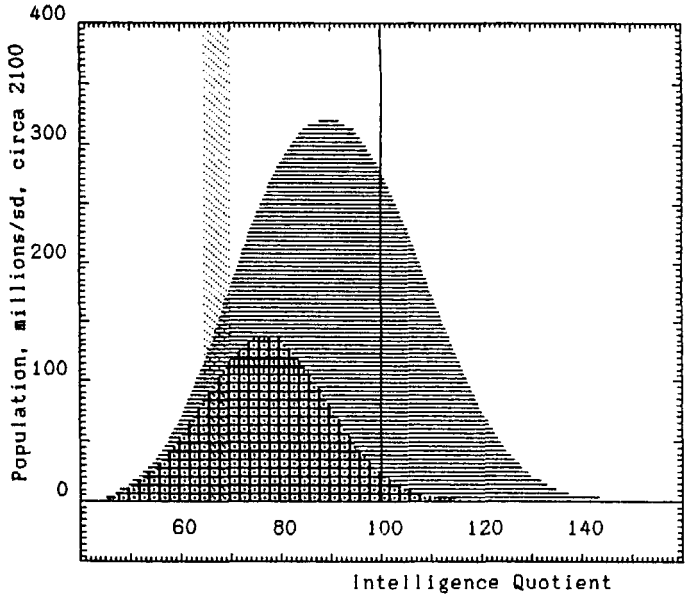

FIGURE 2: Illustrating debilitating decline in IQ for two populations with critical threshold shown.

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But competition is seldom conducive to a stress-free world. The only tool that might reduce stress is the human intellect, which, through analysis, can devise ways of rising above nature's games and pursue longer-range goals, albeit at some short-term cost. This "intellectualization" is no promise of success, but at least offers the possibility. Without that, all hope is lost.

A question is, how can intellectualization facilitate the longer-term goal of avoiding a Malthusian existence for humanity? One way is that described in the previous paragraph. Another way is the coupling between intellectual capability and a society's productivity. If there were no selective controls to maintain intellectual competence, then the pain and distress of an approach to the Malthusian condition are greatly exacerbated by a lack of intellectual vigor in the country's leadership, and effectiveness of those whose job is "followership." A stable democratic government presumes that the "followership" is competent to elect the leadership wisely. Passion, even noble passion, is not enough. Given the extremely painful ethical questions raised by the contemporary need for both population restraint and eugenic selectivity, unless those who direct the course of human activity can view the problems intellectually and dispassionately, there is no hope of evading a humanity's return to a Malthusian condition. It may even be that the human species has not evolved such as to make that possible.

Two figures have been prepared to illustrate these themes. The first relates to the quantity problem and how soon we must start thinking about it.

Figure 1. shows the projected world population year by year based upon two references. The projection is exponential growth, and is assuredly incorrect, as some checks such as starvation, war, or birth control will intervene to control the growth. The upper portion of the curve thus is indicative of pressures and trauma rather than attainment. The purpose is to relate such projections to the concern to our descendants.

Three circular markers are shown on the population time line. One assumes the birth of a child in 1993. The dotted line is 75 years long, a crude measure of expected life and exposure to the problems of world overpopulation. Also shown is the period of the parent's life, assuming that parental age corresponds to a typical mean for the birth of children. By the time the child approaches end of life, if population growth is unchecked, the world population will be some 29 billions, or

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nearly five times what it is today. Given that millions go hungry today, that child can experience a very serious degradation in life during its declining years. And that does not assume that we do nothing. The inertia effects in population growth cause a significant overshoot even if we were today to reduce the birth rate to a replacement level. By the time the typical grandchild is born, the population would be some 10 billions, almost twice what it is now. At that point, unless something is done very soon, our social structures will begin to fall apart under the strain, or dictatorial governments will take charge or both. If the grandchild lives to age 75, the world population will be some 64 billions, about eleven times what it is today!

Obviously that is absurd. Something will have to happen to prevent it. The question is, will we impose controls or will our children starve? Not descendants remote and distant, but those one "baby-sits" for and gives Christmas presents to. It is not easy to defend the thesis that we have no responsibility for those descendants whom we do not and cannot know, although some humans are selfish enough that that is a fact. But the reality is that even those "near and dear" are now at risk. Further, the typical 28 year old parent that lives another 50 years may see the beginning of hell before they die. So much for fallacy number one.

Figure 2., illustrating the quality side of the issue, is equally grim, and viewed as pejorative to discuss as well. Once again, however, problems not faced and admitted are never resolved. This figure illustrates a likely prospect for the US if the population growth is unchecked and we pay no attention to the maintenance of our intellectual competence. The IQ/birthrate slopes are such as to induce a 3 to 4 point IQ drop per century in the major population groups. There also exists significant differences between groups with respect both to starting point and rates of growth. Here, again, birth rates and intellectual competence are usually inversely related. If no remedial action is taken, the US population in 2100 will be something like a billion – with an IQ some seven points below what it is now.

The shaded vertical band at the left of the figure indicates a range variously quoted as corresponding to "feebleminded." Sometimes an IQ of 65 and below is cited as defining "feebleminded," sometimes as high as 70. The band therefore indicates a fuzzy region of uncertainty. Regardless of the defining point one uses, there is no way that present productivity standards can be maintained with problems of such magnitude. However, if we so chose, using a combined population

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control and eugenics program we could move the peaks of those two distributions to 100 and above. Admittedly it would be strenuous and obtrusive, and would take time, effort, and courage. But what is the alternative?

There is absolutely no question but that the figures and data we have provided are deplorably inadequate as a basis for more accurate projections. But when there is no public funding, when there is public pressure against private funding, when there is a *de facto* proscription of debate and discussion, and when those who have the courage to speak are subject to defamation in the media, one must do what one can with what is available.

Nevertheless, the message is clear, it is no longer this generation's interest against the interest of future generations. Our unwillingness to respect the interests of our children has brought us to a state where our own necks are in the noose as well. Perhaps that should motivate someone. Anyone who does not feel a sense of hysteria when they contemplate the situation, just doesn't understand the nature of the problem!

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Book Reviews

Max Weber's Sociology of Intellectuals
By Ahmad Sadri
ISBN 0-19-506556-5
Oxford University Press, 1992

Max Weber was one of the major sociologists of all time. His *History of Religions* stands as a monument to penetrating but politically-detached scholarship, and his sociology of bureaucracy should be required reading for all entering into public employment.

Ahmad Sadri has achieved remarkable heights of analysis in this book which deals with the works of an academic giant. Weber has generally been classified as a socialist, and Sadri therefore compares his work with that of various noted socialists ranging from Karl Marx, Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg to Lester Ward and Georg Lucáks. In passing he also contrasts Weber with Sumner and Parsons. What is important, however, is that he reveals Weber as a scientific thinker who is far-removed from socialist bias.

The social role of intellectuals, the aspect of Weber's work on which Sadri concentrates, was a pervasive motif in Max Weber's thought, particularly in his works on religion and politics. In his study of world religions, Weber asked such questions as: What is the relation of the ideas created by religious intellectuals to social reality? Do the carriers of new ideas create them independently or do they reflect class or other strata-bound traditions? Mannheim's theory Marxist of intellectuals as a product of their social class is discarded as inadequate.

Comprehensively examining and extending Weber's work on the subject, Ahmad Sadri provides a new perspective on intellectuals and the intelligentsia and their respective roles in society. He also provides a synthetic typology of intellectuals which spans both Eastern and Western traditions. Sadri provides a provocative and convincing defense of an heuristic approach to theory as well.

The work is further augmented with five appendices discussing such issues as: Weber on the "Positivist-Intuitionist" controversy; Winch, Schutz, and Oakes on the verification of ideal types; Weber and

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Islam; ideologies and counter-ideologies of intellectuals; and methodology and epistemology.

Many attempts have been made by scholars to explain the roles and functions of intellectuals and intelligentsia, each remaining embedded in their commitments to various ideologies. In this work, Sadri synthesizes a review of writers from Europe, as well as Russia and the United States. He also presents a paradigm that focuses on the characteristics that distinguish intellectuals from the intelligentsia.

Sadri approaches this work with the knowledge of two civilizations. He has a thorough background in classical Persian scholarship, but was also associated with the New School for Social Research, which probably accounts for the emphasis he places on comparisons of Max Weber with Marxist authors. His clear distinction, one might say, "contrast," between Weber and Marxist thinkers is a fortunate outcome of his association with the New School.

Max Weber is far too infrequently read or studied in contemporary American universities, and it is to be hoped this book will help to correct this shortcoming.

Bruce Cartwright

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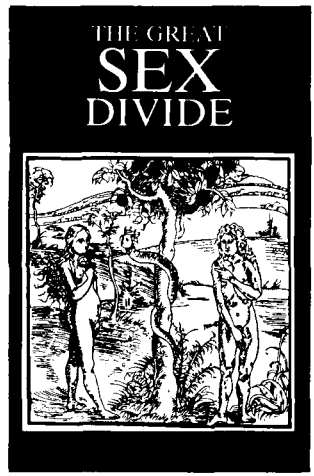

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